Miss E. Coy

THE LIBERATOR
—IS PUBLISHED—
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
—AT—
221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

☞ TERMS — Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

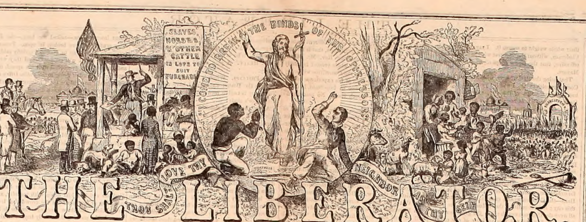
☞ Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 13. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1580.

Refuge of Oppression.

BURNING PAPERS—HANGING PREACHERS

A Republican member of the State Legislature, from Allen county, in Kansas, had a relative living in Texas, who wrote Mr. B. to send him the news from Kansas, in reply to which he sent him the New York *Tribune* and Lawrence *Republican*. The following letter shows the result. Fannin county is where they hung Rev. Mr. Dewey, for belonging to the M. E. Church, without the word *South* to it:—

HONEY GROVE, FANNIN CO., TEXAS, January 18th, 1861.

N. B. Blanton, Esq., Humboldt, Kansas:

DEAR SIR,—E. McCrary received your hellish and incendiary documents. It would be well for you, and all those who believe in the abolition of slavery in the United States, to first commence the work at home. Clean out the Augean stables, and then you will be adepts in the profession. How many, ah! how many white males and females are now in bondage to the aristocrats of your section of the country—their equals by nature, and often by acquirements their superiors! There never has been, and never will be, a government destitute of slavery in some shape or form. If you want to enslave, as you have done and are now doing, your brothers and sisters of the Saxon race, and can find those who will serve you in the name and stead of negro slaves at the South, it is your privilege to do so; but we ask and beseech you to allow us to enjoy the same right in peace. We are determined that you and your abolition colleagues shall attend to your own affairs, and allow us to do the same, be the consequences what they may. The devil and his imps form a component part of your nature, and all those who are stirring up insurrection and disturbance in this country. You have the impudence of Satan himself, combined with all his meanness, to send such periodicals as the New York *Tribune* and the Lawrence *Republican* to a Southern clime. They were consigned to the flames, and it would afford me infinite pleasure and gratification to consign you and all your kindred spirits to the same; but, nevertheless, it will be your doom to be cast into the fiery pit, where the flames are inextinguishable, unless a radical change comes over you. You believe you are serving your God, by serving abolitionism; but if you are, your God certainly inhabits the lower regions, in common parlance called Hell!

Reflect, young man, and you will see what injustice you are doing the South. We only ask to be let alone in the enjoyment of our rights; and you shall let us alone, if you have to be forced to do it at the cannon's mouth or at the bayonet's point. This is the sentiment of the South; and you may rely upon it we do not ask you to surrender any constitutional right; neither will we allow you, in your religious fanaticism, to trample under your unhallowed feet the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution, and common sense and common justice.

JOEL H. BUTTON, P. M.

THE SOUTH ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF HARPER & BROTHERS.

It is extremely gratifying to know that the publications issued from this Black Republican, Abolition establishment are fast losing their circulation in the South. Packages after packages are being returned, and we trust that Southern people will cease entirely to read them. The last number of their *Weekly* is as violent an Abolition production as ever came from the office of Garrison's *Liberator*. The house of Harper has grown rich upon Southern patronage and support, and the return has been, that out of their colossal fortunes thousands have been subscribed and freely given for the maintenance of the infamous principles, the carrying out of which has caused the existing state of affairs. The Harpers have ever been bitter enemies of the South and her institutions. Their piracies of the works of foreign authors, and the cheap publication of them in New York, and the immense orders from the Southern States, have made them one of the richest establishments in the country. We must not give "aid and comfort" to our enemies in any conceivable shape or form.—*Columbus (Ga.) Times.*

We endorse every word of the above; but, in the name of common justice, we protest against discrimination against Harper's publications. There is a host of pernicious Northern issues flooding the Southern country every whit as bad, and some of them actually worse than *Harper's Weekly* or *Monthly*. We insist that the entire batch of such papers as the New York *Mercury*, New York *Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Newspaper*, New York *Leader*, *et id omne genus*, should be included among those not to be tolerated at the South. We know of but three literary publications north of Mason and Dixon's line which are worthy of support from the South; these are the *Home Journal* and *Knickerbocker Magazine*, of New York, and *Godey's Lady's Book*, of Philadelphia. Neither of these has ever insulted Southern readers, or reflected in the slightest degree on our institutions, and we take pleasure in bearing testimony in their favor.—*Savannah News.*

THE OLD DOMINION LOSING POWER.

The reconstruction of the Senate committees, resulting in the displacement of the Southern chairmen by Republicans, disgusts the Richmond *Enquirer*. That paper indulges in the following lamentation:—

"The people of Virginia must now realize the humiliating and alarming fact that they are living under Black Republican rule—the rule of men who 'would as soon see a conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it,' as to protect the slaveholder in his right of property. Just look at the cast of the committees of the Senate, as they were reported on Friday last! Sumner, of Massachusetts, heads the committee on Foreign Relations; Fessenden, of Maine, the committee on Finance; Wilson, of Massachusetts, on Military Affairs; Hale, of New Hampshire, on Naval Affairs; Wade, of Ohio, on Territories; and so on to the end of the chapter. Thus it is manifest that the Lincoln-Seward President has the Senate entirely 'at his heels,' and that the government which was intended to provide for the common defence and to promote the general welfare of the slave as well as the free States, is to be made the mere instrument of the degradation and oppression of the former. Will old Virginia, the proud mother of States and of statesmen, be an unresisting victim of Northern cupidity and tyranny? Will she allow the brand of disgrace to be placed on her forehead by the Sewards, the Sumners, the Wilsons and the Hales who rule the councils of the Northern confederacy? No! Her 'pride of lineage' forbids it. Her memory of the past, her appreciation of the present, her love of the future, all, all, forbid it. She will yet proclaim, trumpet-tongued, to her enemies, that Virginia *is* what Virginia *was!*"

FURTHER EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Slavery expansion is already openly advocated at the Southern capitol. A writer in the Columbus *Sun* says:—

"Mr. Stephens, in his speech last night at the President's reception, in quite a pointed manner, alluded to the probable expansion of the Confederate States, hinting that our territory might extend far down to the tropical country of Central America, taking in the whole, all united, and all based on the fundamental idea that the negro was inferior to the white race, and that slavery must be extended and perpetuated. This magnificent plan of expansion may seem like going it on a large scale, yet it is by no means improbable."

The same writer goes on to argue and explain the project, in the following free and easy way:—

"The South must occupy Mexico, to prevent the Abolitionists getting on the Southern border. The labor system of Mexico, after the conquest (or acquisition), should be the same as that of the South. It is essential that slaveholders, with slaves, should go and work the rich soil of Mexico. Manifest destiny and inexorable necessity so decree it. If it be wrong to take Mexico, and carry the African labor there, then it is wrong to stay in any part of North America, and it is wrong to hold slaves. The dispossession of the Indian race was wrong, if taking the country from the weak Mexicans is wrong, and surely it is no greater wrong to carry negroes to Mexico than it was to bring them here, and it is no greater wrong to carry negroes to Mexico than it is to hold the negroes now here in bondage. In national affairs, and in the dealings of one country with another, the motto of 'might makes right' must often be adopted. If this be not so, Americans are the robbers and plunderers of the Indians. Necessity, aye, imperious necessity, will send Southern arms and Southern institutions into Mexico.

"A 'cordon of Free States' must never surround the God-given institution of slavery — the beautiful tree must not be girdled, that it may wither and die. This will be the probable policy of the new Government. I learn that steps are being taken (in the proper direction) to secure the admission of New Mexico as a State into the Confederate Union, and it is not improbable that that slaveholding Territory will at no distant day send delegates to our Congress who will ask its admission. A number of memorials [illegible] be desired, have recently been presented by the Texas members of the Confederate Congress."

Selections.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIVERSAL FREEDOM.

Extract from the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society:—

From a retrospect of the long struggle between the contending forces of Liberty and Slavery, in this nation, and from the developments of the present hour, the question arises in every thoughtful mind, What is to be predicted of our country's future? Amid the strifes of hostile political parties; the rending asunder of ecclesiastical bodies; the contest of various factions vieing with one another to suppress the rising rebellion of anti-slavery thought and speech; and the upheaving of the foundations of institutions which seemed as immutable as the everlasting hills; the Abolitionists have kept their eyes constantly fixed upon one result, which they knew must come, at last, through the whirlwind and storm of the conflict, viz., the abolition of American slavery. For this result they have steadily labored, refusing to be turned from their purpose by any side issues, or to compromise their demand for any lower aim. We now see that this end draweth nigh. It is not to the new administration of our Federal government that we look for the inauguration of the reign of Liberty. Very efficient service in the anti-slavery cause cannot be reasonably expected of a President who avows his intention of restoring the fugitive slave to his master; who tells the nation that though he believes that Congress possesses constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, he should not favor their abolition of it, excepting with the consent of a large number of the slaveholders of the District; and who says that if he should be of opinion that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade between the States, he should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon some conservative principle, akin to the conditions which he suggests relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Nor can much more be expected from a party in power, which, when out of power, pledged itself, through its accredited organs, to enforce the compromises of our Federal Constitution. But the heart of the Northern *people* is slowly and irrevocably decreeing the doom of slavery. Their political leaders may refuse to see this fact, the representatives of their commerce may loudly deny it, but the South instinctively knows it, and *therefore* refuses to accept the peace-offering presented to her by Northern politicians. Herein is hope for the slave. For the mortification of seeing pusillanimous party-leaders offering to sell the people's birth-right for a mess of pottage, there is the consolation of believing that the offer will be rejected, and, ultimately, the treacherous traffickers only, be sacrificed thereby.

Whatever course the maddened South or the affrighted North may now take, one thing is certain, the abolition of slavery has been greatly hastened by the events of the last three months. If the South maintains its defiant position, and establishes an independent Confederacy, the slaves will soon settle for themselves the question of their freedom; if, fearful of this result, the revolting States return to the protection of the Federal Government, they will reunite themselves to a people who have occupied the period of their absence in learning new and thorough lessons in the comparative strength of the North and the South, and in unconsciously acquiring a deeper hatred of slavery from the illustrations of its character, recently exhibited in the arrogant and despotic bearing of slaveholders.

While we hail with joy and thanksgiving the approach of the final triumph of our cause, we are aware that the work of the Abolitionists is not yet done. The earnest reiteration of the principle which has guided our enterprise from the beginning, and sustained us through all its vicissitudes, viz., that the absolute right is always to be obeyed, and is always the highest expediency, is especially needed in this momentous national crisis. Professing to believe in natural justice and Christian morality, the representatives of the nation, assembled in legislatures and conventions, are seriously deliberating in order to ascertain how much of essential right it is now expedient to sacrifice for the sake of peace, and what degree of wrong may be wisely perpetrated upon the weak and defenceless, for the advantage of the stronger party. All appliances which can be used to strengthen their confidence in the right, to deepen their hatred of injustice, to inspire them with true manly courage, are needed now. If they, who, in these conclaves, represent the North, can be convinced that the Northern heart and conscience will sustain them only in a course of honor and rectitude, the nation may yet be saved, in the true sense of that often perverted word. Otherwise, they may re-enact the folly of their fathers, and strive to reconstruct a union between the Border Slave States and the Free States, cementing it with the same compromises of principle that the founders of our Government made for the sake of Union, and trusting with the same mistaken faith that the slavery within their borders will soon die from inherent weakness. The voice which first awakened this nation from its profound slumber, and summoned it to repentance for the sin of enslaving men, should, surely, ring in its ears, to-day, all prophet warnings, all brotherly entreaties, all faithful exhortations to heed well the golden opportunities of this hour, when the angel of God's providence is offering to it a momentous alternative of good or evil, and awaiting the choice which shall exalt it in true glory before heaven and earth, or sink it in deeper infamy.

The yet unbroken chains of the slave, our country's imminent peril, the achievements of the past, and our faith in the invincible power of truth, are our incentives to continue our labors with undiminished zeal and industry. And the admonition, "Work while the day lasts," sounds in our ears, to-day, from lips which, though dead, yet speak to us in the memories of their fidelity during all the years through which, hand in hand and heart to heart with us, they shared this toil and conflict. A vacant seat, here, to-day, reminds us that the passing year has bereaved this Society of one of its members, whose loyalty and diligent service in our cause were highly appreciated, and will be long remembered. And of our fellow-laborers in Pennsylvania, two others, who, from the commencement of our enterprise, have been its faithful adherents, have finished their earthly work and passed to higher labors. And from a far-off grave, in a land struggling to achieve its liberty, there comes to us a voice whose tones are as a trumpet sounding a victory; for he who sleeps in that Italian grave, lived and died in the full and glorious faith that his country's redemption was drawing nigh. His mighty labors and burning zeal and tender sympathy for oppressed humanity found ample recompense in this faith, when, dying, a stranger in a strange land, he relinquished his fondly cherished [illegible] voice join in the jubilee song of the American slave.

Very hopefully we commence the labor of another year. Faith is turning to sight. The Spirit of Liberty has breathed on the nations of the Old World, and they are wakening into new life. Autocratic Russia, pointing to her twenty million serfs made freemen, calls to democratic America to break the fetters of her slaves. Surely, the hour is at hand when that resistless angel, at whose touch the chains of slavery fall, and before whose coming despotisms flee away, shall have accomplished his mission,

"And over Earth's full jubilee,
Shall deeper joy be felt in Heaven."

THE LOYALTY OF THE BORDER STATES.

If Scotland were to rebel against the present government of the British Empire, and if Ireland were to arm, and say that she would attack England, if that country should send an army to enforce the imperial law on the northern country, we should deem her loyalty to be worthy of the country that was exhibiting it,—a "very" Irish sort of loyalty indeed. Yet this is exactly what Virginia is doing, and few men think it anything out of the common routine of events. Nearly half the South is in open rebellion, and half of the other half is desirous of going over to the rebel camp; and Virginia is striving to patch up a peace, under the leadership of Mr. John Tyler, whose chief claim to respect is, that he is accidentally an ex-President. Mr. Tyler, the telegraph gravely tells us, demanded, in his late speech, that Virginia should demand "full and ample security as the only condition of remaining in the Union." This means that Virginia should threaten to leave the Union, and declare her intention of joining the confederacy, unless there shall be a radical change made in the Constitution of the United States, and that change in the interest of slavery. If we shall so order matters as to secure to the slaveholders some forty or fifty years more of power, Virginia will consent to remain in the Union, and persuade the seceding States to come back—if she can; and she would take the other border States with her, if we should refuse her terms, and she should elect to rebel. This may be loyalty, but to most men it will wear the appearance of giving the highest kind of encouragement to communities that have committed, and are daily committing, the crime of treason.

The geographical position of Virginia renders her conduct all the more odious. She is so situated that her secession would amount to an attack on the Federal Capital, which would not long be held adversely to her wishes, save through the assembling of twenty or thirty thousand men there; and for *that*, she would barely allow the necessary time. These circumstances confer upon her a degree of power that is held by no other Southern State, and that power she is urged to use in a manner that is alike ungenerous and unjust. It is ungenerous, because she has had immense advantages from the existence of that government which her secessionists would have her destroy. The Presidency has been held by citizens of Virginia for about half the time since it was created. Thirty-two years it was held by four of her citizens, almost in succession, and during another term—less about a month—it was held by Mr. Tyler himself, in consequence of the death of President Harrison, who, though a citizen of Ohio, at the time of his election, was by birth a Virginian, and a son of one of the most deserving of her revolutionary patriots. The high Cabinet offices have oftener been possessed by Virginians than by men of other States. Jefferson, Randolph, Marshall, Madison, Monroe and Upshur were all Secretaries of State; and of the other Cabinet offices she has had her share. John Marshall held the Chief Justiceship of the Union more than the third of a century. Foreign missions, of the highest grade, have been repeatedly filled by Virginians; and lesser posts have been showered upon her people. The Speakership of the U. S. House of Representatives was long held by some of her statesmen; and she has had the Vice-Presidency twice conferred on men of her own "raising." For many years past, the National Government has really been in her hands, because of the power wielded in the Senate by her Senators, one of whom has been Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the other Chairman of the Finance Committee. These Senators have held iron sceptres, power being in their hands a reality of the strongest kind.

We do not mention these things as an argument that Virginia should adhere to the Union, and should use her influence with the other border States in the Union's cause, if the Union has proved a failure, and caused a tyranny to exist; but to show that, under the system that the Virginia secessionists are seeking to destroy, their State has enjoyed extraordinary advantages, and been allowed to lead the land. Her power, and the merits of her eminent citizens, have been more acknowledged by the country, and emphatically so by the North, which did its full part in the elevation of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Tyler. Every Northern vote was given for Washington, and Massachusetts herself voted for the reëlection of Jefferson. Mr. Monroe received every Northern electoral vote but one, in 1820; and but two Northern States opposed Mr. Tyler's election to the Vice-Presidency. These facts prove that Virginia cannot complain of the North, and say that it has pursued an illiberal course toward her; and they also prove that if our system *has* worked badly for the South,—which most certainly it has *not*,—it has not been in consequence of the mind and the sentiments of Virginia having been excluded from the Government. It was at the South, we think, that the phrase, "The Virginia Dynasty," originated. Let Virginia elect to throw her weight into the secession scale, and she will decide against the very system under which she has had a degree of direct power and influence such as she could have known under no other circumstances. Should she decide for disunion, the world's righteous judgment would be, that, believing that she had got all that she ever could get from the Union, she had selfishly resolved to destroy that which she could no longer hold and govern.

The hostility of Virginia to the Union, as represented by some of her people, differs in degree only from that which is exhibited by the seceded States. She has not seized national property, like those States, and her voters, by a good majority, have declared themselves opposed to open and immediate rebellion. So far, her conduct, if not generous, has been tolerably just. But she has given great encouragement to the rebels, and is now pursuing a course which tends to enfeeble the Federal Government, and to degrade the nation in the eyes of the world. Her declared opposition to what is called coercion, but which is merely the regular course of the law, is a most serious evil to the country, and may lead to worse results than have yet followed from actual secession. She says that the laws shall not be enforced, and she assumes the part of a dictator, telling the National Government that it shall [illegible] arrayed under the banner of destruction. If there be loyalty in such conduct, words must have entirely changed their meaning. If her counsels are to control the action of government, there is an end to that constitutional rule that we have had since the beginning of 1789, and which was administered by five Virginians during thirty-six years. That she should guard State rights, no one ought to object; but she should also have some regard for national rights, if she is not desirous of becoming a mere satellite of a new nation, in which she never could be great, which must have interests that cannot be identical with hers, and which, instead of loving her for what she has done, hates her for not having done more to promote its detestable purposes.—*Boston Atlas and Bee.*

SECESSION IN EGYPT—THE REPUBLICANS TO BE "WIPED OUT."

Editors Cleveland Leader:—Since I wrote to you last, nothing new has transpired, except what may be said of the working of the leaven of secession. It is now very generally believed by the Republicans here, that secret emissaries from the South are at work among the people, in order to make a divided State when times of trouble come. A secret organization, I have recently been informed, has been established at Jonesboro', the county seat of this county, whose object is to connect the Southern half of Illinois with the slave States; and when one of the members was inquired of what they would do with such a man as Freeze, who came from Tennessee, and is a strong Republican, the person answered that, for his part, he would have no objections to his staying, but he *was certain it would not be permitted.* It is alleged, farther, that the names and residence of all Republicans have been ascertained, with the view, when the time comes round right, of "wiping them out." About six miles from my place, a family of the name of Whitemore, of Johnson county, has been repeatedly threatened; and a meeting was held last week in Vienna, the county seat, to take measures to expel all Republicans; and such is now the condition of things there, that they go constantly armed, and sleep with pistols under their pillows. I learn, too, that the counties of Johnson, Massac, Pope and Hardin are taking steps with the view of secession from the "abolition" portion of the State, and a printed declaration of secession is reported as having issued from Vienna, though I have not seen it. Mr. Green, the member in the Legislature from Massac, declared in open session at Springfield, that an army from the North, bound for the South, could only reach the Ohio river in Massac by passing over the dead bodies of the people, which some thought would n't be such a bad thing, after all. When one considers that this condition of things exists, in a greater or less degree, as far north as Vandalia, 150 miles, and that the Republicans live in isolated places through the whole of this region, scarcely a settlement being without one,—that is to say, they are in the proportion as of one to thirty,—we are to be considered as standing on "slippery rocks." It will be impossible for us to make any defence unless in towns, and if we should be attacked on our plantations, all we can do is to "spot" as many as our weapons have barrels, and then, if need be, die. I have made up my mind that if I am warned to leave, I may have some regard for Partlet and her chickens; but as for myself, I am going to attend to my strawberries and peaches, and when the *wiping out* process commences, to have as much of a hand in it as any one.

The great difficulty lies in the extreme ignorance of the people. The slaveholder only requires that there shall be a division; his end is then answered, for those who have been deceived by him have no idea that the North is full of wealth and every kind of resources, and they will think they will only have to "wipe out" the Republicans here, and the thing is done. For instance, it is easy to prevent the North from coming to our assistance, if they pull up the railroad track; then it will be impossible to get watchmen and hands enough to relay it, and it is generally supposed that the cars will not run after the 4th of March, and that the company does not intend to run them, and much more to the same effect; showing the truth of the Gospel of the Romans,—for indeed there is some Gospel among the old pagans,—that is, "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

Now, I wish to say that I desire no one will be deluded with the idea that the Slave Power is a weak one; on the contrary, I wish it impressed upon every Northern mind, that it is immensely strong—strong in its leaving no method untried to create division, and in its arts to mislead the ignorant, and to misrepresent our principles. It will stop at nothing, whether in misrepresentation, in robbery and confiscations, or at invasions and massacre. And nothing so much favors their plans, particularly of the border States, as programmes, and processions of compromises and concessions; for I do honestly believe that they will not be satisfied with anything short of a total surrender of the principles by which the last election was won.

It belongs to the great North-West to decide this question again, and to conclude, either to let the slave States go, and go in peace, and whatever blessings belong to them to go with them, or to assert the power of the Government in a manner which shall be, at once, firm and conciliatory. I am persuaded that the greater part of our troubles exists for the want of an energetic President, of another Jackson.

"O for an hour of brave Dundee!"

Another word about what so much interests us, that is, the wiping out business. Are you willing to see us wiped out? If you are not, think about adjusting your own loose business, and, among other preparations, wipe out your rifles.

Yours, for free homes, free speech and free men,
Union County, Illinois. M.

THE RUSSIAN SERFS.

The 3d (15th, new style) of March, 1861, is destined to be a memorable day in the history of Russian civilization. Ever since the accession of the present Czar, all the reforming tendencies of the Empire have been concentrated on one of those vital questions, beside which the minor struggles of politics seem petty and ephemeral. The extinction of serfdom—that work which Frederick the Great in Prussia, Joseph II. in Austria, and Christian VII. in Denmark, successively achieved before the close of the 18th century, which was actually initiated by Alexander I. of Russia, and shared with less enlightened projects the attention of Nicholas—is on the eve of being accomplished by Alexander II. The Russian nobles, with suicidal short-sightedness, have resigned to the Emperor the whole credit of this truly Royal task.

The way has been prepared by all the agencies that can minister to the success of great social rev[illegible] don and Paris; by the debates and conferences [illegible] provincial committees and metropolitan committees, by personal communication between the Czar and the chief proprietors, by long-cherished expectations among the 20,000,000 peasants now to be emancipated, and by the all but nominal enfranchisement, under a sort of copyhold tenure, of those attached to the crown domains. There can be no more hopeful evidence of the capacity for freedom of the serfs belonging to the Russian nobles than the patience with which they have borne the constant postponement of it, and the moderation with which their keen anxiety for the promised boon has been tempered.

We read that the "emotion created" by the prospect of emancipation "throughout the Empire is immense." And yet the simple faith of these poor peasants in the good intentions of the Czar has sufficed to prevent any premature demonstration of independence. Generations have lived and died in the expectation of a good time coming, yet no Jacquerie or servile war has broken out to crush the obstructiveness of the "old Russian party," who still repudiate the views of Peter the Great as too advanced, and to resist concessions which have long been numbered among the rights of man in Western Europe.

Strange as it may appear, that so grand an innovation should be consummated by a mere exertion of the Imperial prerogative, it must be remembered that the origin of serfdom in Russia is deducible from much the same source. Writers on this subject are at much pains to show that Russian villeinage, unlike that which lingered on in remote portions of Charlemagne's empire till the French revolution, was no relic of feudalism, but rather the creation of modern statecraft. It was not the natural outgrowth of a warlike age, in which the dependence on a master was at once the dictate of prudence and a necessity of weakness, but the deliberate invention of policy, partly selfish and partly enlightened by a barbarous notion of statesmanship. Up to the end of the 16th century, it was the Russian nobles who, if not *adscripti glebæ*, were at the absolute disposition of their Imperial Lord, while the peasants, in common with other "citizens," enjoyed the utmost liberty of locomotion,—that which is, perhaps, the characteristic distinction between the freeman and the slave.

It is common to date the system now on the point of being abolished from the ukase of the usurper Boris Godonnow, somewhere between 1584 and 1591, and to attribute it to a compact with the lesser nobility against the patriotic party. More probably the growing requirements of agriculture, and the practical necessity of restraining the inveterate nomadic habits of the people, suggested this enactment, and the difficulty of neutralizing these tendencies in any other way is to this day one of the stock arguments against its repeal. However this may be, it appears that the chains of servitude were ultimately riveted by the incidental effect of Peter the Great's census. Up to that period the landowners, though they had availed themselves of the compulsory residence of serfs in their own villages to exact forced labor in the fields, and even menial domestic services, had no property in their persons.

In the returns to the census, however, they were confounded with mere slaves, and this official mistake became the seal of their bondage. About the same time, the acquisition of serfs by foreign manufacturers, invited by Peter the Great, led to a further obliteration of their prescriptive rights, till at last the serf was reduced to a legal condition uniting the disabilities of a "villein regardant" and a "villein in gross;" for, while he was inalienably attached to the soil as against himself, he was liable to be detached from it, and deported to a distance at the will of his master. The lowest point to which the status of freedom did or could descend was reached about the end of the 18th century. The last fifty years have witnessed several improvements, of which the chief was the introduction of the "communal system" among the 20,000,000 "Crown serfs" in 1837. Since this, some general act of enfranchisement has been a mere question of time, and but for the temporary discredit thrown on the movement by the revolt in Esthonia, where the experiment had been tried under unfavorable conditions, and the intervention of the Russian war, it would not have been delayed so long.

It is vain for any Englishman, upon the evidence now before us, to conjecture the ultimate effects of so sweeping a measure upon the future of Russia, or even the means of its immediate execution. For the present, however, we need not anticipate that the Cossack Empire will confound Napoleon's famous prediction by becoming Republican. Of the several methods that have been proposed for effecting so vast a transaction, all of which contemplate the perpetuation of the existing territorial system by granting lands to the enfranchised serfs, the most reasonable provide for the repayment of the purchase-money to the State by the freed men in annual instalments. This will merely turn the peasant into a proprietor; it will change the legal ownership of the lands, but will hardly alter the feeling with which the serf already regarded them, still less tempt him to renounce at once all his habits of life. At first, perhaps, he will miss the leading-strings of dependence. Whatever the moral degradation and economical unsoundness of serfdom, it provided for many of the wants of a primitive population. It combined a Poor Law system with the obligation of compulsory labor. The duties of the nobles were correlative to their privileges, and both are now to cease together.

Pauperism has hitherto been almost unknown in Russia. The support of the sick and aged devolved, in the case of Crown lands, on the communes; in that of private estates, on the lords. Hospitals were erected, and the loss of farm-stock replaced, at their expense. Not unfrequently, the serf purchased from his master the right of working for himself, and the proceeds of such labor, by a custom hardly less strong than law, belonged to the peasant. Serfs are even now to be found among the wealthy merchants of St. Petersburg, having redeemed by a nominal "obrok," or poll-tax, the theoretical liability to be recalled into predial servitude. There are many reasons to believe that the yoke has in most cases been as light in Russia as in any country which has recognized the mediæval theory that every man must have a lord, and immeasurably lighter than that of American slavery. It has been well observed that the subjection of the serf was aggravated by no antipathy of race. His personal and family rights were to a great extent guaranteed by the law, and upon the whole, while he stood in a servile relation to some prince, he did not altogether cease to be a citizen.

It is amusing to hear that some of the more ambitious among them—probably judging of our social state through a French medium—deprecate sinking into a "proletariat," and finding themselves "in the position of an Irishman." It is difficult to realize a spirit which can tolerate without murmuring the obligations of servitude, yet will not submit to an [illegible] engendered by the long postponement of this measure. [illegible] and greatest, but it cannot be the last, of Russian reforms. There is more harmony between classes, more sympathy with foreign nations, and clearer notions of constitutional liberty in modern Russia, than existed in other countries of Europe on the abolition of villeinage. When an autocrat, however wise and generous, aspires to effect by a *coup de main* an organic change, such as usually costs the labor of many generations, he must expect to see it followed by a free criticism of beaucratic abuses, and perhaps a firm demand for a liberal Constitution.—*London (Eng.) Times.*

THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE NORTH.

Richard H. Dana, Esq. of Boston, in the course of a speech delivered a short time since in Manchester, N. H., made the following reference to the Abolitionists of the North, and to the influence and circulation of the *Liberator*:—

No man can understand the politics of this country who does not understand the position of this class. Want of that knowlege misleads people in Europe and at the South. I refer to the members of that association identified with the names of Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips. I will not join in the cry of the pack which is setting upon them; for they are a minority, engaged in an unprofitable and unpopular cause, for which they have suffered much, and some of them, Mr. Phillips certainly, have made large sacrifices; and especially not now, when their adversaries have clothed them with the dignity of representing, in their own persons, freedom of speech on public questions.

The scheme of their doctrine is this: Slavery is of that class of sins known as *mala in se*, with which all voluntary connection is itself a sin. The Constitution of the United States recognizes slavery, and makes some compromises with it. A conscientious man ought not, therefore, to have any voluntary connection with the Constitution. True to this logic, *they seceded long ago.* They could not carry any State, or county, or town with them, and therefore they are not protected by Virginia, and granted immunity by Mr. Buchanan. As they are peace men, non-resistants, they have not seized the forts, nor called the attention of the laws to themselves. But they seceded, on their own private account, as individuals. They resigned all offices, State and national; refuse to take the oath of allegiance; never vote in any election, State or national, and belong to no party. They are open, avowed disunionists, and pray and preach for dissolution.

If the disunionists of the South had taken the same course, there would have been less trouble. But they have taken the oaths, voted, controlled parties and held the highest offices, and in fact have been the government, and only left the Cabinet and the Senate when they saw that their longer stay there was of less benefit to the cause of treason than their open secession.

These Abolitionists at the North, of whom I speak, left to themselves, and of their own force, attract little attention, and have little influence. Their disconnection from politics, their secession attitude, their disunion purposes, render it so. I have known them from my college days, and I do not see but that they have the same orators, and much the same audiences, they had then. I do not see that they have added one convert of note to their ranks, or even kept pace with the increase of population. Their organ is the *Liberator*. Who sees the *Liberator*? Is it sold at our railroad stations, or in our steam cars or horse cars, or at our steamboat landings, or hawked in the streets? I see a good deal of what is going on in Boston, but to the best of my recollection I never saw it but once in my life, and then it was sent to me by mail from a Southern city. But these men have been a mine of wealth to the revolutionists of the South, and to the opponents of the Republican party in the North. By an intentional confounding of names and terms, they have represented their speeches and resolves, as the speeches and resolves of men engaged in political action, of Republicans, and have been the very wings on which their words have been borne all over the South, creating false impressions as to the purposes and principles of the Republicans and the North, alarming fears, arousing passions, and furnishing a complete magazine of weapons and ammunition for the promoters of disunion. And at this moment it is in the power of a few Northern journals that you and I could name, if they would sink their party purposes and make a clean breast of the truth, to do more than any men in the country to restore confidence and peace.

71.2009.085.00756

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.,

BEFORE THE

Metropolitan Police Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature,

In the Hall of the House of Representatives, Friday, March 22d, 1861.

Phonographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—Allow me as one of the petitioners, and as a citizen of the city to which reference is made in this petition, to state the grounds upon which I signed it. In the first place, I have no blame to express, no charge to bring, against the individual members of the Police force—none whatever. If I had any to make, I should not make it here. Probably they are as good as the members of any other Police force on the seaboard. I have never found a policeman who has not exhibited a desire to do his duty. It is said that the Duke of Newcastle, during his late visit, remarked of Mr. Ham, that he was the best Police officer he had ever known. I think the compliment was deserved. It is not the character of the Police to which the petitioners object; it is the direction given to them. It is not to change a man on the list; it is to ensure the proper use of the force itself.

Again, gentlemen, for one, I do not appear here to censure anybody. I suppose it is not the function of the Legislature, certainly not of its Committees, to award censure to the various executive authorities of the city and State. No doubt, it is true, as my friend [GEORGE W. SMALLEY, Esq.] has just detailed to us, that for weeks before that Anti-Slavery meeting in January, a meeting which had been held here for thirty years, every January,—which every man allows was met for a legal purpose,—stood behind the shield of the law—it is no doubt true, that for weeks before that meeting, the press and the streets were full of threats that it should never be held; that it met; that it was disturbed by a mob, and finally turned into the streets, in broad daylight, in the presence of the Police force, by order of the Mayor; that not a gun was fired, not a man arrested, not a finger lifted to protect the legal rights of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. After full, public notice given by the mob, a legal, peaceable meeting was broken up, in the city of Boston, by that mob; the State, county and city authorities looking on; no visible effort was made to prevent it; not a man was then or has been since arrested or arraigned for that day's crime. Except your Honorable Body, no department of Government has taken the slightest notice of this bold, high-handed violation of law, this gross outrage on the most sacred rights. That statement must be allowed on all hands. One may make one excuse, and one another; but that statement stands unchallenged. There were three persons charged that week with the execution of the laws of the Commonwealth, and the preservation of its peace: one was John A. Andrew, Governor of the Commonwealth; another, John M. Clark, Sheriff of Suffolk county; and the third was Joseph M. Wightman, Mayor of the city. Upon one or all of them rest the crime and the disgrace of that day. It is not for us to divide it here. On other and fitting occasions, I, at least, as a citizen, shall express my opinion. We come here, gentlemen, not to censure the past, but to ask security for the future; to make use of these and other facts to induce you to remodel the machinery by which our rights are protected, and to endeavor to secure, within the city of Boston, the full exercise of their *rights to minorities*. That, at least, is my purpose here to-day.

Gentlemen, there is a very broad basis for this claim. It is not merely—on my part, at least—on the ground of free speech, to which my friend, Mr. Smalley, has alluded. I claim it, as a citizen of Boston, for a variety of reasons. Every body knows, as my friend the City Attorney [J. P. HEALEY, Esq.] remarked, cities are an excep[illegible] are nests of great vices, and also, that [illegible]erned communities. Neither New York, nor New Orleans, nor Baltimore—none of the great cities—have found the ballot-box of its individual voters a sufficient protection, through a Police organization. Baltimore and New York have deserted it. Great cities cannot be protected on the theory of Republican institutions. We may like it or not—seventy years have tried the experiment, and, so far, it is a failure; and if there is no resource outside of the city limits, then a self-governed great city is, so far as my experience goes, the most uncomfortable which any man who loves free speech can live in. It is no surprise, therefore, that we ask you no longer to let the Police force represent the voters of Boston. We are commencing, gentlemen, before this Legislature, an agitation to protect the streets and the free speech of Boston. Whether we shall succeed this year, or in ten years, I do not know; but I always begin by acknowledging the whole claim, without any concealment. I mean to try, if God gives me life, to take the Police force of Boston out of the *control of its voters*. That is the exact essence of the claim I make. Why do I do it? I wish to be as brief as possible, to condense what I have to say into the smallest compass; let me select, therefore, two points. I shall take Temperance and Free Speech to illustrate the grounds of my claim.

In the first place, the Temperance cause. The Commonwealth has a law,—the Maine Liquor Law, as it is called; you know its terms—I need not enlarge upon them. It is measurably enforced in other sections of the Commonwealth; it is not enforced at all in Boston. Why? For these reasons: Nine-tenths of the criminal laws of the Commonwealth depend for their enforcement, within the city of Boston, on the Police of the city. It is in vain that judges sit to try and punish criminals, if none are brought before them. An efficient and honest Police is perhaps more necessary for the enforcement of law than even an honest judiciary.

Now what controls our city Police? The Mayor and Aldermen who appoint and direct them. Who elect these Mayor and Aldermen? On an average, some twelve thousand voters, more or less. There are in this city two thousand places for the open sale of liquor; a thousand places where it is sold not so openly; five hundred is a small estimate of the houses of prostitution and gambling—measurably concerned, of course, in the same traffic;—thirty-five hundred places where the Maine Liquor Law is constantly violated, with the knowledge of the Police—for I take my estimate from the Police Reports. Now, gentlemen, you would not consider that I was making a very large estimate, certainly, not one unduly large, if I said that each one of these places, on an average, could control a voter. Such liquor sellers are generally voters. If not, every one has a father, brother, servant, bar-keeper, landlord, men of whom he buys his supplies, frequenters of his bar. Certainly, I do not make too large an estimate when I say that, on an average, each one of these places controls one vote—thirty-five hundred votes in the city of Boston out of twelve thousand. Gentlemen, I make no special charge against the Mayor and Aldermen—they are as good as the rest of us. They want votes; it is the American failing—most men want votes. One man wants to be Mayor, another man wants to be Alderman, a third wants to be Sheriff, and a fourth wants to be Common Councilman. Very well; here stand the party that want something, and there stand the party that have something to sell. They have their votes to give. It is understood that they will give them to the man who will do the least to execute the Maine Law. The bargain is not acknowledged before a Justice of the Peace, nor recorded in the Registry of Deeds; but every sensible man in the city knows of its existence; and these men walk into office because those men will that they shall. Who doubts that thirty-five hundred votes—or call it three thousand, it matters little—can always control elections? Twelve thousand, the mass—divided equally—Republican, Democratic, Whig—all sorts—Catholic, Protestant—crumbled up as an independent community necessarily is; and here stand thirty-five hundred men—three thousand, twenty-five hundred, what you please—who know what they want, stand together for it, and throw their whole weight to secure it. I say, therefore, Mr. Chairman, without the slightest wish to be personally offensive, that the liquor shops of Boston choose our Mayors.

That being the state of facts, what interest has the Commonwealth in it? I will tell you what interest it has. The valuation of the city, as my friend [Mr. HEALY] observed, is one-third the property of the State. Of course, that is not all owned by the men who dwell and sleep on the peninsula; it is owned largely outside. These men have as much, often more, interest than the city voters in all that affects the value of property. Mobs and Intemperance affect property in various ways, as I shall presently show. Such outsiders should have some means, therefore, to prevent both. We have from fifteen to twenty thousand men, according to the reports, who come daily into the city by the trains to do business here. Whenever any great public gathering is held, for discussion, for exhibition,—whenever Kossuth is received in these Halls—the Commonwealth crowds into the streets of this city; from it radiates the influence of the press all over the Commonwealth; it is the great centre of influence. Let me tell you an hour of my experience. One spring afternoon, when I left the city to deliver a lecture, I alighted from the railroad car at the foot of a hill, whose swelling side was crowned with the most magnificent of country dwellings. Architecture and Horticulture had exhausted their art. It was so unlike any thing about it, I was led to ask how it came there. The man who was driving me said it was built by a village boy, who wanted to show how much money he had made in Boston in fifteen years. "He left here without a cent," said the young man—"went to Boston—became a distiller—returned with two hundred thousand dollars—that is his residence." Do you suppose there was a Yankee boy within sight of that hill-side who was not tempted to repeat that Boston experience, of rapid and easy wealth! I rode on fourteen miles, and was set down opposite one of those village homes which Dr. Holmes describes in his recent novel—a square house, of the Revolutionary period,—elms hung over it,—and the same driver said, "In that front room lies dying the grandson of the man who built that house. Grandfather and father died drunkards—lay about the streets of the village drunk. That boy and I started together in life. He went with me to Lowell. We went through the mills and a mechanic trade. Never did one drop of intoxicating liquor pass his lips. Social frolic, increase of means, friendly entreaty, gay hours never tempted him. Until thirty, he stood untouched, guarded by an iron resolution. Having gathered a few thousands, he was tempted to Boston for a wider trade. He went there—stayed six years; came home penniless and a drunkard, to lie in the very streets where his father and grandfather had lain before. He could stand up against every temptation, except Boston streets. There he lies dying, as his grandfather and father before him." Do you say that the people of these country towns have no interest in the streets of Boston? You tempt the virtue, melt the resolution and corrupt the morals of the Commonwealth, as far as your influence extends.

Look at the result of this choice of your Mayors by the grog-shops. My friend [Mr. HEALY] would have said, doubtless, if he had known I was going to speak upon this point, as he did intimate in the course of his argument, that the city had done all that it could to enforce that law. Have they? The Chief of Police replied to the question from the Massachusetts Temperance Society, "We have directions never to prosecute a liquor seller, unless he be one who would not have received a license under the old license act." That is, the Commonwealth says there shall be no licensing; the city says, "We won't execute your statute, except against those to whom we should have refused a license." For five years—*for five years*—the Police confess that they have never executed the [illegible] instances; the other sometimes said, "You can't convict, such is public opinion." The Mayor and Aldermen of the city undertook and succeeded in putting liquor dealers on every jury. The District Attorney and his Assistants confess, in these same answers, that the reason why they could not get convictions in the cases where they failed was not for want of evidence, but because liquor dealers were on the jury. Now, gentlemen, I present to you the city saying to the Legislature, "*You* send the liquor dealer to the House of Correction; *we* send him to the jury box. *You* say a man shall not be licensed; *we* say he shall. Help yourselves!" What is the result? The Police and benevolent societies of the city say that there are 43,000 persons arrested and relieved from want in the city, in a year. Of these, the Police and benevolent societies say 30,000 come to want and to crime by intemperance. Strike off five thousand for exaggeration—call it 25,000. How many scholars are there in your schools in this city? Twenty-five thousand. The Mayor and Aldermen, to whom you choose to give the Police, take, with one hand, $250,000 of your money and mine to educate 25,000 children, and with the other they tear out a statute from the statute-book in order to ruin 25,000 adults. The inefficiency of the Mayor and Aldermen makes it exactly the same as if the cost of our school system were thrown into the dock over the end of Long Wharf. We know just as well what educates drunkards as what educates a school-boy. The Parker House, the Tremont House, the Revere House, and the Howard Saloon educate intemperance exactly as the Latin school educates youth. One educates for heaven, the other for hell; and the City Government says it shall be so.

The Police, we are told, are instructed not to arrest a liquor seller, unless he be one that would not have been licensed. What is the effect of that, gentlemen? The effect is this: The Constitution says that "justice shall be administered by persons as independent, free and impartial as the lot of humanity admits." That is the Judiciary—that is one end of the law. What is the other? The Police force. We have a right to claim that it also shall be under the direction of persons as impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit—otherwise, good laws are vain.

If you will say to an offender against any criminal law, "We will undertake that you shall never be brought to the notice of the courts," it is exactly as good as if you gave him a judge of his own selection. Your Police strains out the large sinners, and let only nuisances pass through. That is the only class that ever reaches the courts.

Now, gentlemen, I am perfectly serious on this ground. I know the value of the common schools of Massachusetts. It makes my house worth a thousand dollars more to-day; it makes my right of free speech doubly valuable; it makes my life safer; it makes it happier and more honorable to live in this Commonwealth. That is the value of the common school system, which at great expense educates the children of the State. On the other side stands your system of endeavoring to break up the intemperance of the city. I do not say that the Mayor or the Aldermen could prevent it all. I know the difficulties to which my friend [Mr. HEALY] has alluded. I only ask of any man an honest effort; I only ask for evidence that the first step is taken in that direction—that there is a willingness, a disposition to do it. A great deal could be prevented. Mr. Chairman, the mob that broke up that Tremont Temple meeting reeled into it from the gorgeous grog-shops that surround the Temple. Where do they get their respectability? They get it from the fact that your Governors, your Judges, your Senators, your law-makers meet week after week, and month after month, in these very places, to violate the law which they have placed upon the statute-book. No wonder they are ashamed to execute the laws which they break before the very sun and noon-day of Massachusetts.

Mr. Chairman, I contend that you should take that Police force out of the control of the city, whose government is chosen by 3500 illegal houses, and put it into the charge of the Commonwealth, which means that its statutes shall have at least an honest effort towards execution. We should see a different state of things in the capital. But, gentlemen, that is not my specific branch. My friend, the Rev. Mr. Miner, who sits near me, knows this whole ground infinitely better than I do. I hope the Committee will enjoy the benefit of the statement of his experience and argument on that branch—one as important, in every point of view, as free speech itself. No man can do it more justice.

We come now, gentlemen, to the other branch of the question, and that is, Free Speech. We all know what the value of free speech is. I shall not, certainly, waste your time by endeavoring to describe it. Think it not presumptuous in us to put ourselves forward as champions of such an undoubted right, or strange that its defence should fall into our hands. Macaulay says, "Even in England, where the multitude have long been better informed than in any other part of Europe, the rights of the many have generally been asserted *against themselves* by the patriotism of the few." But let me, at least, remind you, that "the noblest human work—nobler, even, than literature and science—is broad, civil liberty, well secured and wisely handled"; that "liberty is where, though the majority rule, the minority are protected against both the masses and the government"; that no people are really free who have not learned to bear with each other; that toleration is the test of faith—since that man does not really believe his own opinions who dares not listen to his opponent. Your Federal Constitution was not willing to leave *free speech* to the general provision that Congress should have no powers not specially given, and omitting the right to control it from its list of powers, but by special amendment secured *free speech* from the touch of Government. Such is the right whose protection we claim.

My friend who sits at my left [Mr. HEALY] says that a great deal of argument and declamation may be expended upon the subject of free speech, but that there are certain limits to free speech. Nobody denies it. "A man has no legal right to blaspheme," he says. Granted. "A man has no legal right to slander his neighbor." Grant that. "A man has no legal right, in any sense, to insult his neighbor." Grant that, also. The question does not lie there; and I mention it thus early in my argument, because it is the kernel of the whole discussion between us. My friend, the City Attorney, said also, that Col. Sargent, in that very honorable interview—honorable to him—which he had with the Mayor, undertook to show what other people should think and ought not to think. Col. Sargent has that right; I do not deny it to him. I have a right to my own opinion as to what Col. Sargent ought to think and ought not to think. The Mayor has a perfect right to decide for himself what I ought to think and ought not to think—no doubt of that. The question lies a step beyond that. My friend, the City Attorney, says I have no right to blaspheme; and he went on to add, if I do, I can be indicted. Ah! that is just it; I want to be indicted, but I don't want to be judged and crushed by a Mayor. I claim to see the face of a judge; I want to know the law which I have violated. That was the difference between Col. Sargent and the Mayor in that interview which they had. Col. Sargent thought that certain persons ought not to think as they were thinking. Very well. What did he propose to do? Nothing. He proposed to leave them to think. The Mayor proposed to go and shut up their hall, and let them be mobbed, and help mob them. My friend [Mr. HEALY] said, in criticising the meeting at the Music Hall, in which I spoke, and was hissed, that he hoped we allowed their right "to hiss"—that the day had not come here, in Boston, when a man had not "a right to his opinion, and a right to express it." That day has got here, and will remain here, as long as Mayor Wightman holds his office. It has got here; it came on the first of January; and that is just the question for this Committee—whether the [illegible] opinion, and how long that time shall last. I know, gentlemen, all the limits to free speech—all the limits that any honorable man, thoughtful man, sane man, can claim—no doubt of them; but the question is, *what tribunal is to decide the limits*. We say it is the judges; we say it is a jury of twelve men. Four hundred years of English history have put a jury of twelve men between me and my rights and the Government. This Mayor juggles them out of the way. That is my complaint against him. I want to see a judge and jury; an indictment—that is all I ask; all I ask on the ground of free speech. But you will perceive that this interview between Col. Sargent and Mr. Mayor is an interview in which the Mayor says, that if he had heard me criticise the Mayors of Boston, he should have locked me up. Indeed! are the Mayors of Boston the only sacred and intangible functionaries in the Commonwealth? Is every man who undertakes to say that a Mayor is a bad one to be locked up, and only those who deem all Mayors faultless to go at large? Is that the limit of free speech, Mr. Attorney? It seems to me it is a very narrow limit. Selden said that Equity, as distinguished from Law, was as if you made the Chancellor's foot the measure of length; one Chancellor had a long foot, and another a short one. But it seems we are to be measured by the yard-stick of a Mayor's ignorance, the contents of a Mayor's head; and some are as empty as the receivers of their own air-pumps. How shall I fitly describe the functionary of this Commonwealth who undertakes to say, that if he had heard me criticise him, he should have put me under arrest! And during the other part of the interview between the Mayor and Mr. Sargent, the discussion between them seems to have been upon the question whether, on the whole, he should stop that meeting or not. No pretence, throughout this interview, throughout the interview with Mr. Manley, throughout the interview with Mr. Heywood,—no pretence whatever that he had any legal right,—not even the decent hypocrisy of trying to find one; he confesses that he knows he has no legal right, but that he means to carry out his purposes, nevertheless. I stood in yonder Council Chamber that day, and heard the Executive of the Commonwealth split hairs on legal technicalities for two hours, searching anxiously round to find how little power he had. But the Mayor has no question of law; legal or illegal, it matters not to him. As the old French novelist says:—"Despotism does bold things illegally—Liberty does nothing at all, exactly according to law."

Now, gentlemen, make out the statement of facts. For three months, it has been publicly said that we should not hold an anti-slavery meeting. What is the reason why we should not hold one? What is the reason given? You will not doubt—I shall not go into the evidence—everybody knows that it has been said by the press, in the streets, "You cannot hold an *anti-slavery* meeting." What is the reason given? My friend here [Mr. HEALY] alludes to one that was given in regard to the John Brown meeting: It was held in honor of a man who violated the law; "a convicted felon." Grant it. Of itself, standing alone, that matters little. The question is *of what* is a man convicted. Kossuth was a "convicted felon," in Austrian phrase. Did that make the shouts that swelled these arches less hearty? Russell, Algernon Sydney and Harry Vane were "convicted felons." Does Macaulay shrink from naming or praising them, on that account? Half the loved names in history were "convicted felons." Judea called our Saviour a "convicted felon."

The Fifth of March Massacre was according to law. The men who shot the martyrs of that day were all acquitted,—showing that they had the law on their side. This Commonwealth, this city, celebrated their martyrdom for many, many years, and turned it at last into the Fourth of July. Would a mob have been right in interrupting Joseph Warren or John Hancock when they delivered orations in defence of the illegal rebels of the 5th of March, 1770? I trow not. But look at this. Mr. Fay has a right to say that John Brown was blood-thirsty, that he was a murderer: have I no right to say the contrary? Is "free discussion" so gagged in this country, that when the law has once condemned a man, none may afterward ever speak in his praise? May we never ask, was he rightly "convicted"? Who is to judge? The Mayor?

MR. HEALY. A jury ought to judge, upon your theory.

MR. PHILLIPS. Where is the jury? I have sought through the Boston streets, and have not seen one. Your jury is twelve men rolled into one, and sits in the Mayor's chair!

Again, the second claim is, that I and others are vituperative. Suppose we are—indict us! Have we a monopoly, a patent for vituperation? You heard Caleb Cushing in Faneuil Hall when, it struck me, he said everything that the Saxon language allowed him. He was not mobbed. Are political meetings all milk-and-water? It seems to me that Democrats vituperate the Republicans, and Republicans vituperate the Democrats. Nobody mobs them. But, gentlemen, look a moment at this idea of vituperation. Yesterday morning, the Boston *Post* had an article devoted to an attack on me: have I a right to mob it? Within the last twenty years, I think I should be right in saying, that the Boston press has exhausted the resources of the English language in describing the Abolitionists: have we ever mobbed them?—had we ever a right to mob them? What is this vituperation of anti-slavery meetings? Take up the newspapers. A newspaper lives on what? News of men—not always to their credit; criticisms on men—not always in their praise; criticisms on books—not always eulogistic. Three hundred and thirteen days in the year, the Boston *Post*, the Boston *Courier*, scorches every man it dislikes: nobody calls them vituperative; Mayor Wightman does not propose to mob them. He does not say that if the *Post* finds fault with him, he must have Mr. Green arrested. None but Abolitionists are to be arrested. That is, there is no truth in this charge of special vituperation.

We carry on our agitation exactly as all the rest of the world does. Our meetings are the exact counterpart of political meetings, and every other live meeting in the world—no difference. The only difficulty is, we are a minority; it is safe and it is popular to mob us. Most of us are temperance men, and the thirty-five hundred voters who gave him his office would rather like, on the whole, to have the Mayor put us down. There is the motive; now for the fact.

Gentlemen, look at these mobs. Nobody pretends that we violated the law; if anybody says it, I should like to hear it. Neither the Mayor, nor his witnesses, nor the City Attorney—nobody—has breathed the thought that we violated the law. We stood inside of it. A mob assailed us. Now, two things are to be shown by the Mayor to justify himself: either that he tried to prevent it, and could not, (and that is a defence, a perfect defence, I admit it,) or he is to take the other ground, that he did not want to prevent it. Did he try to prevent it? I am not going into that evidence, gentlemen; I should consider myself belittled to go into that evidence; the facts are too patent to need it. This everybody on the peninsula knows. That John Brown meeting could not be held. We hired that Tremont Temple for three sessions—morning, afternoon and evening. Mr. Fay used it as long as he pleased, and then went away. Mr. Howe used it as long as he pleased, and then went away. Why were we not permitted to use it afterwards? Who shut it against us? The Mayor of Boston. Now, if he can show that he could not keep it open, I shall admit it as defence. He closed it, and he must defend himself for closing it. He says that he could not control the mob. But Deputy Chief Ham, with sixty men, controlled the mob in Joy street in the evening, and kept the peace. Why could he not have done it the same afternoon and evening in the Tremont Temple? Why could he not have done it just as well in one part of the city as another—better in that part of the city than any other? The January meeting came. The Mayor says, in that interview with Col. Sargent, "Here is an organization of two thousand saw that mob once; he gave but one order; and the only time he looked that mob in the face, it obeyed him; the only order he issued was obeyed. What right has he to say, that if he had issued any other order, it would not have been obeyed? Mobs have reigned since that 3d of December. In three instances, we have been protected: in Joy street, at the Music Hall, on Sunday, and one hour at the Tremont Temple on the afternoon of the 25th of January. Once at the Music Hall, when, by the good Providence of God, we were relieved from the presence of Mayor Lincoln, and Alderman Clapp—all honor to his courage and fidelity!—had charge of the city, we were protected; we were protected at the Joy street meeting; we were protected that one hour in the afternoon.

Now, I maintain this: that the only time that the city authority ever tried to look in the face of the mob, it was obeyed; the only order it ever issued was obeyed. I shall not, I cannot, as a sane man, grant to Mayor Wightman the right to come before this Committee and Legislature, and say that he could not control the mob, when the facts show, that the only time he ever tried to control them, they obeyed him. I will not add the testimony of Mr. Ham, Mr. Coburn, and others, that with sixty, forty, twenty men, as they variously estimate it, they could at any time have controlled that mob. I do not go into that. The Mayor's own showing is, that he never tried to order it but once, and then it obeyed him.

All the while the press of the city has never uttered one fitting rebuke of this mob spirit. Here and there one press and another has spoken for the right, but, in general, the city journals have welcomed the mob rule; indulged in bitter and unsparing abuse and misrepresentation of the Abolitionists, throwing on them the blame of these outrages. Their columns have been full of the details of mob violence, reported not only without one word of reproof, but in the spirit of levity and encouragement. Meanwhile editorial articles discoursed of the danger of "unlicensed free speech," painted the beauty of "regulated free speech," and "judicious free speech," and "orderly public meetings," and "respect for the feelings of majorities," till we were reminded of the worst days of Napoleon the Third, and almost fancied ourselves in Paris instead of New England. It would have been in vain for us to ask opportunity for reply or defence in their columns. That justice has never been allowed us. Years ago the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, on two successive days, printed a long article, each day, in bitter criticism of me—drawn by one of the best pens in Boston—my name printed at the head of one or both articles, and sprinkled thickly through them, joined with epithets of contempt. I asked half as much space to reply. But I was informed by the Hon. N. Hale, the editor, that he should not "open his columns to the *discussion*"!! It was to the generous and magnanimous spirit of Hon. J. T. Buckingham, that I owed my opportunity of reaching the Boston public in defence.

Gentlemen, I contend that we have no protection for the right of speech in this city, except the Mayor choose to exert himself. Whenever he does choose, he is abundantly able. We do not need the military—the Police is sufficient; they acknowledge themselves sufficient; the Mayor has proved them sufficient. We only want the law. That law we shall never have while you leave us with the voters of the city of Boston. This is not the only instance. There has not been an anti-slavery meeting protected in this city, for fifteen years. I never have attended one—never. I make a very grave charge—I know it. I mean exactly what I say. Let me illustrate my meaning. The Hon. Mr. Stevenson and ex-Judge Curtis held a meeting lately, you know, in Faneuil Hall. It was at an excited moment; it was during this mob reign. There were many persons, undoubtedly, in that hall, strongly opposed to the speakers. One man in the audience, who had begun by crying "Good"—"that's it"—&c., to Mr. Stevenson, was allowed to go on during his speech; it was no interruption, rather a little impulse given to the feelings of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make frequent interruptions,—talked too long,—the Judge's terse sentences were broken in upon. Presently, a policeman stepped up to him, and quietly said, "My friend, you and I will go out"—and they went out, and Judge Curtis proceeded with his speech uninterrupted. No need of going to the Police Office a week beforehand; no need for the Chairman to send notice to the Mayor that there was a disturbance; no need of calling out the military; the policeman knew his duty, and did it, without waiting for an order. The respectability of Boston was there; the *right side* was there; they were bound to have a decent meeting. Edward Everett, Mr. Stevenson, Judge Curtis, Mr. Hallett, Mr. Green,—they hold no meetings that are interrupted; never have been for fifteen years. They need not ask protection; it is enough that *they are present*. They may attack the Republicans, the Republicans may attack them, and both may attack the Abolitionists, but neither are mobbed. Caleb Cushing may break into the sacred house of sickness, and vilify the noblest name in the Empire State, when God has stricken him down with insanity, and hear not a lisp or murmur from the crowd that bowed beneath him. All these meetings can be held. We never hold a meeting that rowdy boys from sixteen to twenty cannot break it up at any moment. We pilot our way through it; we can control it, in a certain sense; we manage to adjourn; we get through the meeting; we hold our hall; but many persons say, "We do not want to come, it is rowdy." Persons decline to let us halls; they won't risk them. Why, gentlemen, ten years ago, nearly, I went to Mayor Bigelow, and said to him, "We are going to have a great meeting in Faneuil Hall; George Thompson, a member of the British Parliament, visiting this country for his health, is to speak for us; four thousand people are to come from different parts of the Commonwealth to hear him." "Well," said Mayor Bigelow, "I will send eighty policemen; they will cost you $100." I said, "Sir, we pay taxes; I paid a thousand dollars yesterday, for myself and others; I think we should be protected without being called upon to pay specially for it." "That makes no difference; you can't have them unless you pay for them." "Very well," I said; "send them, and send me the bill." "I will do it," he replied. Well, the evening came, and we assembled, four thousand people, many from the remotest parts of New England. The eighty policemen came, took off their badges, and joined the mob, and for three hours, Pandemonium was the only pendant for the picture of Faneuil Hall. When I went to the Mayor the next week, and said to him, "Sir, as a gentleman, you promised us a quiet meeting; as an officer, you pledged us the presence of eighty policemen, for whom we were to pay; your policemen were there and mobbed us," what was his reply? He did not deny the promise; he did not deny the official duty. This was his reply—"We have not sent you the bill." As if not sending us a bill of one hundred dollars was any compensation for that meeting! From that day to this, we have never had the protection of the police force of Boston—never!

Now, this is not the ordinary rule. I lectured before the Mercantile Library Association eighteen years ago, and that same mobocratic, boyish sport ruined the lectures of that whole winter. They were the young men of the city; it never has been done since. Anything that they will allow you to pronounce there, you may pronounce, to quiet audiences. There is no other series of meetings but ours that is understood to be outside the police regulations and protection, and we alone for fifteen years have been allowed to make our way with the mob as best we can.

Now, gentlemen, this Legislature may take just what line of argument, and just what position it chooses; it matters not to me. I only want a basis to go before the Commonwealth. I have been mobbed for ten years for advocating the principles which put you in these very seats. For advocating the very [illegible] mobbed out of Faneuil Hall fifteen years ago. Was I rightly mobbed? It is for you to say. From that time to this—*from that time to this*—our meetings have been in the same condition. I do not hope for any change; there is no possibility for any change, so long as you leave us to the control of an unprincipled majority, that does not recognize the rights of this minority. Why, gentlemen, the sight of one individual in this Hall reminds me that the reason why this Hall was not granted to us, as alleged in the debate, and in the streets, was because you did not dare to risk the State House against the reeling drunkards of the Parker and Tremont Hotels. That is to be the record of my Commonwealth of Massachusetts, that its own Chief Magistrate and House of Representatives were not willing to risk this Capitol, because certain boys, headed by the Mayor, said that a meeting should not be held in it! Are you willing to live in such a Commonwealth, and be silent? I am not. You may decide, if you please, by your decision to-day, that it is right to mob me; that a man has no right to be an Abolitionist; if he is, he must take it at its cost. Granted! I am willing to go to the Commonwealth with that record. I am willing to argue to the farmers of Massachusetts on that statement; but that is the only one upon which this Legislature can refuse to act. If it were a single mob in January, I would wait for better times. I have all charity for Mayor Wightman, but not a bit of faith, and no hope. I would wait for better times, when the sober second-thought of the people can give us another functionary of the city. But I am not here to find fault with one officer, whom we have to-day, and banish to-morrow—the puppets of a system; I am here to argue against the system itself. Let me read a word from De Tocqueville, the wisest man who ever criticised our institutions:—

"In my opinion, the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength; and I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny." * * * "I do not say that tyrannical abuses frequently occur in America at the present day; but I maintain that no safe barrier is established against them." * * * "At the present time, the most absolute monarchs in Europe are unable to prevent certain nations, which are opposed to their authority, from circulating in secret throughout their dominions, and even in their courts. Such is not the case in America; so long as the majority is still undecided, discussion is carried on; but as soon as its decision is irrevocably pronounced, a submissive silence is observed, and the friends, as well as the opponents of the measure unite in assenting to its propriety. The reason of this is perfectly clear: no monarch is so absolute as to combine all the powers of society in his own hands, and to conquer all opposition, with the energy of a majority, which is invested with the right of making and of executing the laws." * * * "In America, the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion: within these barriers, an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he ever step beyond them. Not that he is exposed to the terrors of an auto-da-fé, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. His political career is closed for ever, since he has offended the only authority which is able to promote his success. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before he published his opinions, he imagined that he held them in common with many others; but no sooner has he declared them openly, than he is loudly censured by his overbearing opponents, while those who think, without having the courage to speak, like him, abandon him in silence. He yields at length, oppressed by the daily efforts he has been making, and he subsides into silence as if he was tormented by remorse for having spoken the truth." * * * *

"The sovereign can no longer say, 'You shall think as I do on pain of death;' but he says, [and this is exactly what the majority says to us in Boston,] 'You are free to think differently from me, and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, for you will never be chosen by your fellow-citizens, if you solicit their suffrages, and they will affect to scorn you, if you solicit their esteem. You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow-creatures will shun you like an impure being; and those who are most persuaded of your innocence will abandon you too, lest they should be shunned in their turn. Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is incomparably worse than death.'" * * *

"Works have been published in the proudest nations of the Old World, expressly intended to censure the vices and deride the follies of the time; Labruyère inhabited the palace of Louis XIV. when he composed his chapter upon the great, and Molière criticised the courtiers in the very pieces which were acted before the Court."

Now mark this description of a Mayor who would have put me in the lock-up had I ventured to criticise the magnificent office of the mayoralty:—

"But the ruling power in the United States is not to be made game of; the smallest reproach irritates its sensibility, and the slightest joke which has any foundation in truth renders it indignant; from the style of its language to the more solid virtues of its character, every thing must be made the subject of encomium. No writer, whatever be his eminence, can escape from this tribute of adulation to his fellow-citizens. The majority lives in the perpetual exercise of self-applause [that is the reason our "vituperation" is so offensive]; and there are certain truths which the American can only learn from strangers and from experience."

Now, Mr. Chairman, we stand in that condition. We are endeavoring, and have a right to endeavor, (you may think us fools for the attempt,) to teach the majority what we think of their mistakes. They have a right to leave us alone, to quit our Hall, preserve a masterly indifference to us—perfectly right—we cannot complain. If they come, they have a right to come, like Mr. Fay, with their pocket full of resolutions against us. I wish I had the time to read to you the argument of Richard S. Fay when he asked this Legislature to compensate the Catholics for the burning of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of his father, when he reported against the burning of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of George T. Curtis, when he asked this Legislature to pay for this mob violence. But I have no time for that. They all felt then as we do now, the shameful outrage of mobs, encouraged by the presence and indifference of magistrates—they could insist more earnestly than we can on the sacredness of these rights, on the horrors and dangers to civil liberty of mobs. Let them read now their own record. I wish Mr. Richard S. Fay would read his own argument, and pay his bills. All I have to say is, that we are carrying on an agitation precisely of the same character with the daily press or the political parties. We are a minority—I know it. All we claim is the law. No legal charge has been made against us—none. The mob has been allowed to drive us for three months, threatening us beforehand, out of our halls, and the Mayor has coöperated with them. The only time he ever attempted to control them, he succeeded. He never has attempted it since. His defence is, that he cannot control them. If he cannot, give us something that can. If the Mayor and Aldermen cannot put down Mr. Fay and two thousand young men of Beacon street, give us a Commission that can. If they could, and do not, give us a Commission that will. That is all we ask of the State. If the State says we have no right to be protected, we will take that answer. If the State says that Anti-Slavery has no rights which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is bound to respect, we will take that answer. Any thing we will take. But we commence here the argument with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We claim, in behalf of our minority, and of the others that are to succeed us—the laws. The very night preceding the Sunday I was to speak in the Music Hall, sanctified by the memory of Theodore Parker, of whom one of your own members eloquently said, that the most munificent gift ever given by a scholar to the city was given by him,—in that very pulpit, the funded result of his life,—and the Trustees sat until half past eleven, before they dared to trust the one hundred thousand dollars' worth of property to the perils of free speech. Is that a compliment to the capital of Massachusetts? That Committee decided by one to risk it; but if that man had not had the courage to risk it, the record would have gone out that the city of Boston having, with one hand, just accepted the most munificent gift a scholar ever made, with the other shut up its pulpit at the dictation of the grog-shops of the peninsula. Again, when I spoke afterward, in the Tremont Temple, the Trustees of the Temple sat in the same way to decide whether they would risk their property, and a majority, of one, decided that they would. Braver than the Legislature, which decided that it dare not! That is the record of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Do not say, gentlemen, that this is a matter of concern to the city alone, and should be left wholly to its voters. When such counsels rule, that men are unwilling to let their property for public meetings, every man, living in the city or out of it, who owns property in it, is interested. Music Hall and Tremont Temple, and all other public halls in the city, are less valuable to-day, seeing that their Trustees hesitate to let them for one class of frequent meetings. All holders of city property are interested in that.

Mobs are a game two can play at. Remember the flour riots of New York followed close on the mobs against Abolitionists. A mob is a two-edged sword. It is dangerous to teach the unruly and criminal classes the way to mob, and let them reign supreme for days over law. A few years of such discipline will give us the murders and rowdyism that once disgraced Baltimore.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer. If you think that is for the honor of Massachusetts, if you think that is the proper state of the law for the capital of Massachusetts, let it be. If you think that a Mayor who says one day he won't, and the next day lies and says he can't, is a fit man to be trusted with the dearest rights of the citizen, be it so. Ah, gentlemen, I, too, could go over the contradictions of the testimony, if I chose to follow the City Attorney; it seems to be a city failing, the saying of one thing, and contradicting it by something else, and the Mayor sets the example. The City Solicitor has shown you what? Accused men denying their guilt:—that is exactly the amount of his examination of the evidence. I think every lawyer will say that it is the usual experience of criminal courts, that four out of five of their prisoners deny their guilt. It is not strange to find it so here now. But it does not matter. We have not been protected. We often put a fee at our doors to keep out the very class we would like to reach, which we should welcome if they came feeling they were to behave there as in other protected meetings. Our best laborers are often those who came once to mob us. We are not protected. The idea which comes up at once, to every one's mind, of an Anti-Slavery meeting, noisy, rowdyish, frequently broken up—often by despicable youth, or a dozen drunkards, countenanced by the Police—saved from our control by the interference of the Police, tells you we are not protected. Save our streets from violence, from the rightful efforts of determined men to protect themselves. Give us protection. That is all the minority asks of the Commonwealth; and we have tried the experiment twenty years before we come to you. It is a permanent, chronic disease; and we ask, therefore, for an amputation. Let not us, who are accustomed to address public assemblies, have the right to say that, in troubled moments and great political convulsions, we can utter our most unpopular opinions safely,—that public halls are opened to us freely in New York; but that, in Boston, halls are closed because prudent men dare not peril them by free speech, and public meetings impossible, because there is no law for the minority and the unpopular.

METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL. A hearing was had before the Legislative Committee on the subject of the proposed Metropolitan Police Bill, in the Representatives' Hall at the State House, on Friday forenoon last. There was a large attendance. J. P. Healy, Esq. City Solicitor, occupied nearly two hours in a dull and tedious review and recapitulation of the testimony of witnesses before the Committee, concluding with urging that no charge had been sustained against the Mayor or Police of Boston. He was followed on the other side by George W. Smalley, Esq., who acquitted himself in a very creditable manner. Wendell Phillips, Esq. made the concluding argument—clearly, forcibly, unanswerably—which we here publish in full.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861.

REPLY OF REV. MR. HAVEN.

We publish, on our last page, the reply of Rev. Mr. Haven, in answer to some strictures we made upon a former communication received from him. In this he intimates his purpose to retire from the discussion—a discussion we have no desire to prolong—but, in doing so, he certainly fails to sustain any one of the grave accusations he so recklessly brought against us in special, and the Abolitionists in general, in his Thanksgiving Sermon. Among them was this: that, led by our love of free speech, we had "permitted" some of our "leading associates" to burden the Anti-Slavery cause "with gross infidelities and social absurdities." In vain have we challenged him to substantiate it, or any other of his charges, by producing a particle of evidence. He has found it easier to reiterate them, leaving them wholly unsupported as at the first. We are sorry to see, in his letter this week, what appears to us a disingenuous state of mind—not to say, a disposition to pervert the truth, particularly with reference to the real position of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the enslaving of men, women and children at the South.

Once more we quote his original impeachment of our religious character:—

"Would that, in his sphere of effort, and to the measure of his large abilities and influence, he had kept his liberty from becoming licentiousness! Would that he, like Wilberforce, had kept his heart sweet with prayer and piety through the whole of this great war!"

That word "licentiousness" is a very serious allegation. It is, of course, the quality of being licentious. Worcester defines that to be—"Using license, in a bad sense; unrestrained by law or morality; dissolute; lax; loose; vague; unconfined." Mr. Haven evidently uses it "in a bad sense, with a dissolute meaning." We have asked him to show wherein we have failed to advocate a faithful adherence to principle, and an uncompromising regard for the laws and commands of God; when or where we have played fast-and-loose with the claims of humanity, or the demands of justice; or when we have been beguiled from the path of duty, or allowed others to stray therefrom, on the ground of expediency or worldly policy. His only reply is, that all this is "not necessarily the cause or the effect of prayer and piety." But what is it? How else is it to be accounted for, using language honestly? How is it compatible with "licentiousness," and in what is it to be "licentious"? Has not Jesus given the true test of character—"By their fruits ye shall know them: do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" It is just here that the clerical visage peeps out. We are at no loss to understand what our accuser means by "prayer and piety." It is to violate the express injunction of Christ in regard to publicity in prayer, and to subscribe to the Methodist creed! It is to accept the theological dogmas and to conform to the religious (?) usages of Mr. Haven! Not being disposed to do this—venturing to dissent from him in regard to certain speculations about a particular book and a particular day—he very charitably and complacently sets us down as "licentious"! To this we have to say, that as Paul justly deemed it "a small thing to be judged of man's judgment," so do we—especially when the man is smothered in the "cloth."

Unpopular and proscribed as we are, everywhere, for our refusing to compromise with popular iniquity, Mr. Haven finds it convenient to array Wilberforce (now lauded throughout Christendom) in opposition to us—he the dead saint, and we the living reprobate! Certainly, it is not for us to speak of our piety, or to insist that we are infallible in all the religious views we cherish, as Mr. Haven assumes to be thoroughly qualified to do in his own case; but we may venture to ask, how does he know that we pray not? If

"Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Unuttered or expressed,
The motion of a hidden fire
That glows within the breast"—

if the direction of Jesus is worthy of obedience—"When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is *in secret;* and thy Father, which seeth *in secret,* shall reward thee openly"—and if his example in this particular deserves to be imitated—how does our accuser feel justified in making proclamation from his pulpit, that we are alike prayerless and irreligious? He assumes, it is true, a great deal as to his own piety—more than would seem compatible with true humility; but does he also claim for himself the attribute of omniscience?

Mr. Wilberforce, in spite of his "prayer and piety," acted uniformly in Parliament, we believe, on all matters aside from the slavery question, with the high tory party. Toryism we detest and oppose as anti-Christian. What does Mr. Haven think of it? Wilberforce sustained the unhallowed union of Church and State. Such a union we denounce as at war with the genius and spirit of Christianity. What does Mr. Haven think of it? Wilberforce was in favor of monarchy, an hereditary nobility, and a landed aristocracy. We believe these find no place within the pale of Christianity. What does Mr. Haven think of them? Wilberforce upheld the vast naval and military system of England. We believe that such a system is opposed to all the teachings of Jesus, and belongs to the kingdom of darkness; and that war, to quote the words of the celebrated Robert Hall, is "the temporary repeal of all the commands of the Decalogue." What does Mr. Haven think of it? We do not make this reference to Wilberforce invidiously, but simply to show how easy it is for our clerical accuser to "strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel."

Mr. Haven undertakes to make Theodore Parker a witness against the "piety" of the "leading Reformers," and artfully applies the language used by him, specifically to us and to our associates! What authority has he for doing this? The charge is too indefinite to be met, and therefore neither permits nor requires a distinct refutation. How Mr. Parker's testimony, in a matter respecting genuine piety, can be regarded as "of the highest value" by Mr. Haven, is somewhat singular, seeing that he has accused Mr. P. of having "denounced, with the most unsparing invective, the revival of God's work, and declared the operations of the Holy Spirit to be but the cunning devices of the ministers of Jesus Christ"—Mr. H. concluding his diatribe by saying, "No equal torrent of blasphemous infidelity poured forth from the eruptive craters of Voltaire and Paine." But Mr. Haven has an object to gratify, and that is to disparage and render odious us and our "leading associates." It shows how deep is his interest in the success of the Anti-Slavery cause!

Does Mr. Haven doubt that Mr. Parker was perfectly sincere in expressing his belief as to the spurious nature of the revival that swept over the country three years ago, exceptional cases to the contrary? Will he question our sincerity in expressing a similar belief? If not, what does it prove? Certainly, not an irreligious state of mind, but, at the worst, *only a misapprehension* as to the real character of the revival; for, viewing it as Mr. Parker and we did, ought we not to have borne a faithful testimony against it, for true religion's sake?

How we regarded and what we said of the revival, at the time, may be seen by the following extract from a speech made by us at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at New York, in May, 1858. If there be any "infidelity," or "impiety," or "blasphemy" in it, we should like to have it pointed out.

"A word in regard to the so-called revival of religion now going on in the land. One of the resolutions before us, on this subject—drawn up, I thought, very guardedly—elicited such serpent-like hisses in the galleries that it was really refreshing to my spirit. It brought back the memory of thirty years ago; I felt about 'as good as new' in the struggle. Seriously, we do need a genuine revival of religion in our land—would to God we might have it! 'The whole head is sick, the whole heart faint, and we are full of wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores.' Our hands are full of blood, and we cannot deny it. We need a genuine revival of religion—a religion which is pure and spotless, which has no injustice in it, which has no lash to apply to the naked bodies of defenceless women, which does not steal children, which does not traffic in human flesh, which goes for immediate and universal emancipation. We want a religion of this kind; and God forbid that I should say anything which would tend to prevent a revival of such a religion as this! But we have a right, in regard to the revival now going on in our land, to inquire what is the tendency thereof. Does it favor the cause of impartial freedom, or make against it?

Some of the features of this revival are worth looking at. In the first place, I will tell you why I think it is spurious—not in regard to individual cases, for I am not speaking of them, but to the nation at large. It is a wide-spread epidemic, everywhere exhibiting the same characteristics and results. It prevails at the North, and also at the South. There is the same general confession of sin, which means little—the same profession of repentance, which means less—and the same conversion to the same religious faith; and yet, there is no change of spirit or purpose toward the millions in bondage, on the part of those who claim to have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living God.

Let us argue the matter a little. I suppose we shall not differ about the fact that we are, as a nation, horribly wicked. Certainly, the American Church, which holds in bondage, through its members, seven hundred thousand slaves, is tolerably corrupt! There must be a good deal of blood upon the garments of such a Church! There is, moreover, no end to political corruption and demagogueism in the land. If the Prince of Darkness has ever held complete supremacy any where, he holds it at the present time in America. Now, you have a genuine revival of religion going on, mark you!—a revival that hates the wrong, defends the right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you got it? If so, then there is a tremendous strife going on in the land with 'principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.' The antagonistic elements of heaven and hell are now in fierce conflict, and a blood-stained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake! But does any body tremble? No! Is Satan uneasy? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and snores over it. A genuine revival of religion would scare James Buchanan so that he could not sleep o' nights—and the whole South would be up in arms to resist this invading spirit, and, if possible, to lynch it.

Now, when all is calm and peaceful, in the midst of all-abounding corruption, how dare you say that the spirit of the living God is at work? How dare you say that we have a revival of the religion of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer? Let exceptional cases be granted—that, here and there, a man may be changed from an evil course to a good one—it does not affect the general fact—it does not invalidate the statement, that the revival of which we hear so much is spurious and worthless, because it gives no trouble to the corruption, the demagogueism, or the demon spirit of slavery in the land.

You know they are determined on having the piratical foreign slave trade re-opened, and are looking for the time, not far distant, when it will be made a legitimate branch of American commerce. Yet among the very people who are thus desirous to extend and perpetuate slavery, and to renew the African slave traffic, the revival is spreading, and converts are multiplying in all directions! They have prayer-meetings in Washington, in Richmond, in Charleston, in Savannah, in New Orleans: they pray earnestly to *their* God, at the same time that they *prey* upon their poor manacled slaves, and are determined to have more victims. (Applause.) I say it is a sham! Now let any one who wishes to hiss relieve his bosom. [There was a very significant silence, broken at last by loud applause.]

If any religion leaves a fetter upon my limbs, I shall denounce it as spurious, call it by what name you please. As every other human being is by creation entitled to the same rights as I am, any religion which leaves any man in bondage is equally deserving of execration. (Applause.)

I judge the present revival, and determine its true character, by a very sure test. I am an editor, and my exchange list embraces papers from every part of the land. These I examine with watchful and constant solicitude, from day to day. My finger is continually upon the pulse of the nation. I know, if any man can know, what is the heart of the American people, because the press is the general exponent of their real feelings and sentiments; and, therefore, I should be a dull scholar not to know what is the lesson it teaches. Everywhere revealing to me the fact, as it does, that the present revival is viewed with complacency and approbation by the most pro-slavery divines, by unprincipled political demagogues, by the satanic journals, by all who are hostile or indifferent to the cause of down-trodden humanity, I am sure it cannot be of God, whatever exceptional cases there may be in any part of the land—for if it were, they would assuredly be alarmed by its prevalence, and attempt to suppress it.

All this talk about 'coming to Christ' is, to my ear, as melancholy as a wail for the dead, because it defines nothing, it means nothing, except in a sectarian sense; it gives no aid to the understanding, it does not reach the heart; it is destitute of moral courage, and seeks only conformity to a ritual religion. Now, the Christ who is 'not despised and rejected of men' in a thoroughly corrupt age, whose sympathies are not with the poor and oppressed, and to whom ostentatious homage is paid by the pharisaical and time-serving, cannot save us here or hereafter. Throughout the South, they offer up prayers to Christ, and profess to venerate his name; but do I exaggerate when I say, the Christ they adore is a slaveholding, slave-breeding, slave-trading Christ? And is not such the Christ of America to-day, as interpreted and accepted by the American pulpit and Church?

I glory in the Christ of Judea, because he was willing to be made of no reputation for righteousness' sake, and dared to confront popular iniquity, and expose a rotten religion, to the sacrifice of his life. How my pulses leap, how my heart glows, as I read his history! How divine was his spirit—how world-embracing his love! 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world!' His spirit we need; we want the same moral heroism, the same abiding faith in the living God, the same willingness to 'endure the cross,' as he exhibited; so shall we find salvation.

I am for a genuine revival of religion—for no compromise with crime—for emancipating every slave—for man universally, and God the Father of us all. (Loud applause.)"

The following is the resolution on the revival above referred to:—

"Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which has swept over the country with contagious rapidity during the last three months, is manifestly delusive and spurious, exceptional cases to the contrary notwithstanding; because it has expressly excluded the millions in bondage from all consideration—has multiplied its converts as readily at the South as at the North—has excited no opposition in the midst of universal, all-abounding corruption and profligacy—has received the sanction and coöperation of the most pro-slavery divines and journals in the land—and has operated (as it was evidently designed) to strengthen a Church which is 'the bulwark of slavery,' and to divert attention from the work of practical righteousness."

We see no cause for changing a single word in the resolution we offered, or in the speech we made, on the anniversary referred to. We believe they expressed "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Our statement respecting the revival, that "its converts were most numerous in the blood-stained South," is denied by Mr. Haven. He says, "The great prayer meetings scarcely went below Philadelphia." They were certainly held in Baltimore, in Richmond, in Savannah, in New Orleans, and elsewhere at the South, with a flourish of trumpets; and it was exultingly claimed by Southern religious journals and correspondents, that the fruits of the revival indicated not only that Heaven had no controversy with slavery, but rather showed thereby its approval of the "peculiar institution"! Possibly they lied about it; but, so far as the deliverance of those in bondage was concerned, we think there was nothing to choose between the North and the South.

Moreover, we are gravely called to an account for publishing an advertisement, entitled "Self-Contradictions of the Bible, the so-called Word of God"! Would it suit Mr. Haven any better to have it read thus—"Self-Contradictions of *the Word of God*"? That "Word" is from everlasting to everlasting; but the manuscripts of the Bible are none of them anterior to Moses! The pamphlet thus condemned is simply *a comparison of scripture with scripture, without note or comment;* and yet Mr. Haven says there is but one other paper in Boston but the *Liberator,*—and that an "infidel" one,—that would allow it to be advertised in its columns! We doubt the assertion; but is not this a singular compliment for a devotee of the Bible to pay to the book? In carrying out Paul's manly injunction to "prove all things," may not one be justified in seeing whether there are any "Self-Contradictions" in the Bible, without subjecting himself to the mad-dog cry of "infidel"? What have we here but the very spirit of papal Rome?

Mr. Haven—clergyman-like—complacently assumes that his views of the Bible and of the Sabbath are infallibly correct. We think they are erroneous, and find no warrant either in the Bible or in reason. Who shall attempt to play the part of Sir Oracle? Is there not room here for an honest and conscientious difference of opinion?

Mr. Haven asks—"If it be said, the *Liberator* is not exclusively an anti-slavery journal, I ask, what else was it started for? What else does its title mean? . . . Is not that chosen work great enough?" We answer—we never meant the *Liberator* to be "an exclusively anti-slavery journal," and therefore we would never allow it to be the organ of any Society. Its primary and paramount object was, indeed, the abolition of slavery; and to that it has adhered more strictly than any other journal in the land, by the quantity of reading it has furnished directly on the subject. But we have always reserved and exercised the right to give our attention incidentally to other subjects, by way of variety, and to help along the cause of human redemption in its broadest phase. In doing this, we may have made "the *Liberator* its own worst enemy"; but we have set the manly example of an untrammelled press, and of perfect justice toward all sects and parties; and we think this is nothing to be ashamed of. Those who do not want such a paper need not take nor borrow it.

The truth is, while professing to be an abolitionist, and claiming for himself the right freely to promulgate his views on all subjects whatsoever, Mr. Haven denies to us, and to our "leading associates," a similar right. He objects to our making the *Liberator* a free, impartial, independent journal, allowing all sides to be fairly heard (as we invariably do) in its columns. He insists on making it (what it has never been) the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society; whereas, it is an individual enterprise, for which no association is responsible in any shape or manner; so that his reference to the *Temperance Journal* is not in point. The American Anti-Slavery Society has an official organ,—to wit, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard;* and that paper scrupulously adheres to its one object, excluding from its columns the discussion of those subjects which are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the *Liberator.* That paper, therefore, cannot justly be charged with "being its own worst enemy." Its commanding ability is equalled only by its single-eyed, unfaltering devotion to the cause of the oppressed. Yet the *Standard* has a more limited circulation than the *Liberator*—thus demonstrating the hollowness of the pretence, that if the *Liberator* had not gone into "extraneous" matters, but had adhered solely to the anti-slavery cause, then "gladly would the ministry of every name, whether evangelical or liberal," have rallied to its support. *Why, then, don't they take the Anti-Slavery Standard?*

We must examine what Mr. Haven so deceptively says about the position of the M. E. Church in our next.

SPIRITUALISM—REPUBLICANISM.

ALBANY, (N. Y.) March 27, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—It gave me great pain to see the *Herald of Progress* in your "Refuge of Oppression." My strong friendship for its editor, and the many noble testimonies he has borne in behalf of humanity, crushed down to chattelism and brutality, have inspired in me high hopes on his behalf.

But now, all seems lost. You have placed the *Herald* where, at present, it belongs; and the justice of your course would have been a thousand times more clearly seen, had you inserted the editorial comment under the article. (1) That was worthy of the article itself. And in the *Herald* of last week is another from the same pen, and kindred in spirit and purpose, if not in violence and falsehood of expression.

My experience is just this, on the subject of Spiritualism, and that type of *Progress* which the *Herald* represents:—While there are some, but not very many, Spiritualists who understand and nobly serve the cause of Freedom and Humanity, the greater part are just the same obstacle and dead weight to the advance of that cause, which we find among the most bitter and bigoted sects or parties in the land.

And I only bear this reluctant testimony, from a solemn conviction that fidelity to my mission imperatively demands it. And all attempts to coöperate with Spiritualists, as such, in anti-slavery work, have ended, and I fear must end, in sad disappointment. Of course, I speak only from my own individual observation and experience.

What the hour now demands is, eternal truth and integrity, in word and deed. Whoever cannot, dare not speak truth, and the whole truth, "in words as hard as cannon balls," should be silent. Apologies for slavery, everlasting twaddle about "different spheres for different races," (or sexes,) in Heaven's name, when shall we have done with them?

Is man (black or white) human? Is woman a moral being—responsible, immortal? Then accursed be all laws or logics, all creeds or constitutions, all "conciliations" or "compromises," that touch one hair of all their heads, to subject them to irresponsible power; or obedience to one law or ordinance, which, in enacting, they had not an equal voice and vote with the proudest in the realm!

Who is not nauseated with the eternal babble of Lincoln and Seward, Wilson, Adams, and the whole brood of hollow, heartless demagogues and dastards, about the "constitutional rights" of kidnappers? "*conciliation, concession and compromise*"—when we are, at this hour, more completely subdued, *conquered* by our Southern masters, than were ever Poles by Russians, or Greeks by Turks! Why don't they put halters round their necks, and go beg of Jefferson Davis to condescend to hang them? Perhaps he would "compromise," and hang one-half, and send the other to dig among his sugar-canes.

But, seriously, why do they not have the decency to throw down their offices, confess themselves incompetent, and scamper back to private life and honest living, if on a dunghill? Were ever, *ever* such burlesques enacted before, in the name of government?

PARKER PILLSBURY.

(1) Our friend P. is mistaken; there was no comment "under the article." In an editorial column, however, we find this reference to it, which did not attract our attention at the time, and which must be the comment referred to:—

"D. J. BALDWIN'S answer to Wm. Thirds, and 'THE PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF AFRICAN SERVITUDE,' by R. B. Hanney, are positive and candid articles, from which the reader cannot fail to gather a plain understanding of the view taken by our Southern brethren of the system of slavery in the midst of which their lot is cast."

We do not object to the *Herald of Progress* allowing the most pro-slavery sentiments to be promulgated in its columns, on the responsibility of their authors—for that we do ourselves; but it surprises us that such sentiments should be referred to in such a gingerly manner, and especially that the Anti-Slavery side of this question should be so seldom presented either by the editors or correspondents of the *Herald.* It was quite needless to refer the *Herald* readers to the abominable letters alluded to, "for a plain understanding of the view taken by our Southern brethren" of the slavery question; for the Slave Code, dripping with human blood, presents that view in a manner as authoritative and undeniable as it is wicked and devilish.—[*Ed. Lib.*

ERRATA. In our letter to Mr. Rarey, published last week, two mistakes went uncorrected in the following sentence:—

"We, Anglo-Saxons, being somewhat ferocious and exceedingly stubborn in our nature, need line upon line, and precept upon precept, to make us noble and good toward *each other,* and to those whose place in the scale of *mankind* is lower than our own."

For "each other," read "all mankind," and for "mankind," read "creation."

SOUTHERN AGGRESSION AND NORTHERN FORBEARANCE.

To be forced, as every patriotic man in the North has been, of late, into the position of a silent spectator of the basest acts of treason, it becomes a matter of just pride and gratitude that what in any other age or nation would have precipitated a civil war, has had the effect in the North to awaken feelings, for the most part, of pity rather than resentment. Why is it that, with so great cause, the two sections are not now engaged in mortal combat?

With this provocation, the powerful North, with its eagle eye and lion strength, still stands calm, while it suffers keenly not only in its material interests, but tenfold more in wounded pride and honor. How is this? Is it because, as some politicians say, our heroism has decayed in over-exertion to accumulate wealth? that we have degenerated to the level of slaves and cowards, and dare not resist? that we must needs stand passively by, and witness the audacious deeds of traitors, and quake for very fear? Are we to accept of this as a solution, that we do not fly to arms at such outrageous injustice and meanness? Without attempting to palliate or excuse the crimes or follies of the North, it may be said, in general terms, it is not this. The explanation lies in a small compass. The North is a highly advancing civilization. The south is semi-barbarous. The one is democratic, and believes in the mental and moral, as well as physical growth of the whole people, and hence it is fruitful of institutions which ennoble the mind and heart. It racks its invention to develop its natural resources, and to accumulate; but it does it in subserviency—in spite of much real and apparent selfishness—to a cheerful recognition of the vast superiority of moral over physical force, both to elevate a people, and as a power to adjust differences of opinion and interest. It does not deny the virtue of steel when driven by unreason to the defensive; but it has stronger faith in time, and moral and mental forces.

Two generations of free schools have made the sight clear to discern, somewhat, the scope and end of all human relations. Northern men believe in the existence of great human capabilities, and in that culture which will best bring them to view. They live in time, but look forward to eternity, and so they are vigilant to stimulate every interest that may help the cause of human development, and consequent preparation for a nobler life hereafter. The great mission of the North is to unfold its own natural, moral and intellectual forces, that it may be instrumental in the uplifting of the lowly the world over; and it recognizes no remedies for abuses which spring from the conflict of base passions. It ignores the bloody field of strife, not from fear, but from an enlightened policy. It would, in the settlement of all questions, substitute the olive branch for the sword—reason for brute force. If men are in the wrong, to kill is not to reform. To extinguish the light of the eye is not to see.

The terrible crisis through which we are now passing furnishes one of the most satisfactory evidences we could have, of the good sense and discernment of all those gifted men to whom we are so much indebted for our system of public instruction. There was a time when the question of the education of the masses encountered opposition; the experiment had never been tried, and the subject was viewed, in some cases, from the ordinary level of making it aid in the preservation of civil order, on the ground that it was better to be taxed to support schools than standing armies. This result, it is true, has been yielded by the experiment, and far higher. But if our system did not aim beyond this, its success thus far would be sufficient to account for the wonderful fact that, to-day, with the great shoulders of the North pressed as never before with a weight of insult and mortification, instead of repelling her aggressors by force of arms, she calmly relies on the great principles so dear to her, and so long cherished, for a peaceful solution of her political difficulties.

The advocates of peace may yet be able to point to the first, best illustration of the truth of their principles, in the humane and magnanimous North. Twenty millions of highly enlightened, industrious, wealthy and powerful people, conscious of their strength, their resources, their patriotism, and their humanity, as opposed to a far inferior number, with only an exceptional training, and bound from an awful moral and political necessity to support by sophistry a system of oppression, at which the civilization of the world stands aghast.

The glory, honor or salvation of a people lies not in numbers, in wealth or skill, in art or arms. Its education, not of the intellect alone, but of its heart qualities, to deal gently with the vicious and degraded, to use its strength to raise up the weak, and to show, by a life of fair dealing with the neighbor, the superiority of mind and soul over matter and physical force.

Educate the people, then, in all the States where it shall be tolerated. Cultivate, as far as possible, good will with those States which now feel it for their interest to leave what was once a Union, and compel them by every kindness and every good example to account for the superior condition of the North in all that constitutes true worth in her ever improving system of edreation. Convince her that her attempt at a separate nationality will but end in ignominy, for the reason that her ruling principle is simply the love of dominion, and the influence of ideas borrowed from barbarism, and not from a Christian civilization.

That the South must suffer much, by and by, in her moral and political isolation, there can be no doubt; but if wisdom can only be born to some of folly and suffering, then it may not be matter of regret to those who are to come after us, that disruption now ensues as preparatory to the reconstruction of a political edifice whose foundation shall be laid in the broadest liberty.

Let the North "to its own self be true," firm but conciliatory, and just to all. Let her moral courage transcend even the pride of country, if that country be clearly in the wrong, and she may yet be hailed by her less privileged brethren of the South as their friend and deliverer. At every worthy step forward in the march of reform, let the North rejoice, and, without being officious, generously lend a helping hand.

W.

A NORTHERN FREE CONFEDERACY.

BOSTON, March 18, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON—The following is in the New York *Tribune* of this day. It is taken from the Washington correspondence of that paper. It will cheer the heart of every friend of freedom and of humanity:—

"There are Republicans here, of high political standing, who assert both knowingly and positively, that the secret of the unexpected consent of Gov. Chase, and other radical members of the Cabinet, to the surrender of Fort Sumter, *is their firm belief in the inevitability of the ultimate division of the country into two confederacies*—ONE DISTINCTLY FREE LABOR, THE OTHER SLAVEHOLDING—and their desire to bring about the separation WITHOUT BLOODSHED. That this idea has been broached in the Cabinet Council is certain."

This is the one end at which you and your coadjutors have aimed for twenty-five years—the dissolution of the Union—as essential to the abolition of slavery. The conviction has been extending and deepening among the people, that liberty and slavery cannot coexist and enjoy equal rights and immunities under the same government. There is no power in the Union that can harmonize these two moral antagonisms. Seventy years have demonstrated the utter folly, as well as wrong and outrage, of all attempts to extend equal protection and privileges to both. The two, liberty and slavery, can meet only on the field of conflict, and of death to one or the other. If liberty exists, slavery must die.

In the *Traveller* of Saturday the 16th inst., is the following announcement:—

"We must begin to prepare to make our election between these two propositions:—1. A reconstruction of the Union on the basis of an *unconditional surrender to the slavocracy*—granting all that they may ask while the process of reconstruction is going on, and with the understanding that whatever else they may ask for hereafter shall be granted;—or, 2. A PEACEABLE, FORMAL DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, through the labors of a regular National Convention, to be followed by THE FORMATION OF A NEW UNION THAT SHALL BE CONSTRUCTED OF THE FREE STATES"—(*i. e.,* on the principle of NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.)

The *Traveller* adds:—

"As for living under the present condition of things, it will be impossible long to do it. There must be a change of some kind or other made in the relative position of the two sections, (North and South,) and which shall express the ideas of the age."

Let the Republican party and Administration inaugurate and actualize a peaceable and bloodless dissolution of this kidnapping, slave-hunting and slave-trading Union, and establish a confederacy based on free soil, free labor, and free men—on the principle of no union with slaveholders, and those who traffic in the bodies and souls of men—and they will deserve and receive the heartfelt thanks of every friend of humanity, and give hope and life to the enslaved and oppressed of all lands.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE CONTEMPLATED VISIT OF HON. J. J. CRITTENDEN TO BOSTON. The following letter indicates that Mr. Crittenden will not visit this city at so early a day as he at first contemplated:—

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1861.

Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, Mayor of the City of Boston:

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you a letter, a few days ago, accepting the invitation with which your city has honored me, informing you that I expected to go to Boston in about ten days, and that I would give you, thereafter, more particular notice of the day I would reach the city.

Since then, I have received letters urging me to return to Kentucky by the 20th of this month, the day on which the Legislature of that State is to meet in extraordinary session, for the purpose of considering the present unhappy state of the country. It seems to be my duty to obey this call, and I have decided to do so. I must beg you, therefore, to excuse me to the City Council, and to allow me still further to postpone my intended visit to Boston. Your invitation has given me too much gratification and honor to be easily abandoned, and I will yet hope to visit you in the course of the summer or fall, when the times shall be more propitious, and when I can more fully enjoy the pleasure of my visit.

I have the honor to be,
Most respectfully,
Yours, &c.,
J. J. CRITTENDEN.

We move that the visit of this old wily compromiser be indefinitely postponed.

☞ BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, for March, contains the following articles:—I. The Indian Civil Service: its Rise and Fall—Part II. II. The Physical Geography of the Sea. III. Lee's History of the Church of Scotland. IV. Iron-Clad Ships of War, and our Defences. V. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography—Part XIV. VI. Recent Natural History Books. VII. Wilson's German Campaign of 1812. VIII. The China War of 1860. Published by Leonard Scott & Co., New York—Crosby, Nichols & Co., Boston.

NEW MUSIC. Just published by Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street—

1. The Mountain Stream. By Albert Lindahl.
2. Call me Pet Names. Ballad. Music by Miss Mary Biocde.
3. Nocturne. By L. D. Hoard.
4. My Childhood's Days. From the new opera, "Bianca, the Bandit's Bride." By M. W. Balfe.
5. Amongst the Village Swains. From the new operetta, "The Marriage of Georgette."
6. New England left out in the cold. Words by Lydia M. Tenney. Music by C. E. Kimball.
7. Brilliant Variations on "Still in my dreams thou'rt near." By Ch. Grobe.

☞ The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of New York, on the 7th and 8th of May. The members and friends of the Society should endeavor to arrange their affairs so as to present a full attendance. The Woman's Rights Convention will be held in the same city on the 9th and 10th of May.

☞ Fort Sumter, at the last accounts, had been neither attacked, surrendered, evacuated, nor blown up! Where or what is the government?

DIED, in Acworth, N. H., on the 14th inst., Rev. BROUGHTON WHITE, aged 88 years. He was for a long period the pastor of the Congregational Church in Washington, N. H. After his resignation of that office, he labored as a missionary in various places in New Hampshire and Vermont, where his memory will be long and gratefully cherished. The "modern degeneracy" of the New England pulpit in regard to slavery never reached him. He welcomed the first testimony of Garrison against slavery as a sin, his first call for immediate emancipation. He had a deep sense of the guilt of the American Church and Ministry in regard to slavery, and great admiration for Dr. Cheever on account of his fidelity in exposing their sin. For many years, till his dying day, he was a careful and deeply interested reader of this paper.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

FIENDISH. We learn from the Salem (Ind.) *Times,* that an inhuman wretch in an adjoining county to Washington deliberately laid the following plan by which to put his wife to death. It seems that, to accomplish his hellish work, it was necessary to employ his own son, a small boy, to assist him. He set his fence on fire, and instructed his little son to perpetrate the deed. After he had set the fence on fire, he sent the little boy to the house after his (the boy's) mother, to come and put the fire out, while he (the father) secreted himself in the woods near by, telling the boy before this, that while his mother was engaged in extinguishing the fire, to approach her from behind and set her clothes on fire, which he did, and before she was aware, her clothes were in a blaze, burning her to death. The *Times* does not state that the inhuman wretch has been arrested.—*Boston Herald.*

CRUEL TREATMENT OF COOLIES. The Callao correspondent of the Panama *Star* announces the recent arrival there of a vessel having on board about six hundred coolies, who have engaged to labor for eight years at the rate of five dollars a month. They are sold at auction for this term of years at the rate of four hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars. In many cases, they are put under the direction of negroes as overseers, and too often treated with great cruelty. No attention is paid by the authorities to their complaints, and a band of fifty who escaped from their masters were sent back to chains and punishment.

THE BISHOPS AND SLAVERY. Bishops, as well as Doctors, disagree. Bishop Whittingham of Maryland has written a letter to Gov. Hicks, earnestly approving the Union stand taken by the latter; while Bishop Rutledge of Florida has sent five hundred dollars to the treasurer of the Secessionists to aid in the disunion movement in that State.

☞ Bishop Hopkins, of the Vermont Episcopal diocese, has written a letter, in which he attempts to show that slavery is not a sin according to the Bible.

S. M. BOOTH RELEASED. S. M. Booth has been released from jail. One of the last acts of the ex-public functionary was to make out an order for his release, which was duly forwarded on the last day of his administration by Attorney General Black. The pardon reached Milwaukee on Sunday morning, the 3d. Mr. Booth was immediately released, and attended divine worship at the Church of the Holy Redeemer.

☞ Hon. Joshua R. Giddings was on Monday confirmed as Consul-General of British America by a vote of 30 to 10. The votes in the negative were those of the pro-slavery Democrats, who have not forgotten nor forgiven the vigor with which the indomitable old man has opposed their schemes.

☞ The New Orleans *Delta* of March 8 states that Gen. Braxton Bragg, of the army of Louisiana, has been appointed Brigadier General of the army of the Confederate States, and has been ordered to proceed to Pensacola, and take command of all the troops of the Republic there assembled, and conduct the operations against Fort Pickens.

☞ A Charleston letter says, "The Rev. Mr. Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, ought not to have come here; he is being made a fool of by some weak men of the 'noon-tide' class, but is generally considered to have made decidedly the worst speech at the Bible meeting, and to be altogether quite an ordinary person."

☞ The Southern students—seven or eight in number—have "seceded" from Dartmouth (N. H.) College.

☞ The Duke of Sutherland is dead. He was born in 1786, and succeeded his father as Duke in 1833. His income was nearly two million of dollars per year.

COLLECTIONS FOR TRACT FUND,

BY C. F. PUTNAM.

Dennysville, Me.—Thomas Lincoln, Esq., $2.
Hopedale, Mass.—E. D. and Anna T. Draper, 10; Mrs. M. A. Dutcher, 10.
Milford, Mass.—Mrs. P. Rockwood, 1; Otis Thayer, 1; Dea. Carpenter, 50c; Geo. W. Stacy, 50c; B. Sumner, 50c; friends, 4.60.
Barre, Mass.—Mrs. Ainsworth, 1; Mrs. Abby Cummings, 25c.
Lexington, Mass.—Peter Wellington, 50c; Miss Wellington, 50c; Mrs. Hannah S. Robbins, 50c; friends, 75c.
West Cambridge.—Friend, 25c. Total, $33.35.

☞ MRS. M. B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 34 Bowdoin and 10 Allston streets. Office hours from 2 to 4, P.

☞ FREE DISPENSARY, for Women and Children, 274 Washington street, Boston. Open every day, from 12 to 1 o'clock.

The above institution (in connection with the LADIES' MEDICAL ACADEMY) is now open for the gratuitous treatment of Women and Children, and for Surgical Patients of both sexes. Difficult cases may have the benefit of a Consultation on Wednesdays, at 12 o'clock.

MIDWIFERY. Attendance by duly qualified female practitioners will be provided for the poor, at their own homes, *free of charge.*

☞ NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.—Conventions, in the State of New York, to be addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY and SUSAN B. ANTHONY, will be held as follows:—at

Easton, Thursday and Friday, March 28, 29.
Union Village, Sunday, March 31.

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at Rochester, N. H., Sunday, March 31st.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in the Town Hall, in Quincy, Sunday, March 31.

☞ PEMBROKE.—H. C. WRIGHT will speak in Pembroke, Fast Day, April 4.

☞ WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.—The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at LEOMINSTER, Fast Day, April 4th.

A. T. FOSS and E. H. HEYWOOD will be present. The public are cordially invited.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room,* 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

The British Reviews,

AND

Blackwood's Magazine.

1.
THE LONDON QUARTERLY, (Conservative.)
2.
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, (Whig.)
3.
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, (Free Church.)
4.
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, (Liberal.)
5.
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, (Tory.)

TERMS.

	Per ann.
For any one of the four Reviews,	$3 00
For any two of the four Reviews,	5 00
For any three of the four Reviews,	7 00
For all four of the Reviews,	8 00
For Blackwood's Magazine,	3 00
For Blackwod and one Review,	5 00
For Blackwod and two Reviews,	7 00
For Blackwood and three Reviews,	9 00
For Blackwood and the four Reviews,	10 00

N. B.—*The price in Great Britain of the five Periodicals above-named is $31 per annum.*

Republished by LEONARD SCOTT & CO.,
54 Gold Street, New York.
Dec.28. 6m

SELF-CONTRADICTIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Sixth Edition.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR Propositions, theological, moral, historical and speculative, each proved affirmatively and negatively, by quotations from Scripture; embodying most of the palpable and striking self-contradictions of the so-called inspired Word of God. Fourth Edition. Price 15 cents, post-paid. Eight for a dollar. Sold by all liberal booksellers, and by the publishers,

A. J. DAVIS & CO.,
O5 6m 274 Canal street, New York.

LINDA.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, Seven Years concealed in Slavery; narrated by herself; with an Introduction by LYDIA MARIA CHILD, and a Letter by AMY POST. A handsome book of 306 pages, just issued, which is receiving highly commendatory notices from the press. Price, $1.00. Orders for mailing must include sixteen cents in postage stamps.

Address WM. C. NELL,
F8 tf 221 Washington street.

NEW SERIES OF TRACTS.

PUBLISHED BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE

Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beekman Street, New York; 107 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia; 13 Steuben Street, Albany; and 221 Washington Street, Boston.

No. 1.—Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. pp. 28. 5 cents.
No. 2.—Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with Letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c. pp. 24. 5 cents.
No. 3.—An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections during the last two Centuries. By JOSHUA COFFIN. pp. 36. 5 cents.
No. 4.—The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1859 and 1860. pp. 144. 10 cents.
No. 5. Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. pp. 48. 5 cents.
No. 6.—The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 95. 10 cents.
No. 7.—Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper's Ferry, with his Address to the Court. pp. 16. 3 cents.
No. 8.—The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. pp. 47. 5 cents.
No. 9.—The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachusetts. By L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 36. 5 cents.
No. 10.—The Infidelity of Abolitionism. By WM. LLOYD GARRISON. pp. 12. 3 cents.
No. 11.—Speech of John Hossack, convicted of a Violation of the Fugitive Slave Act at Chicago, Ill. pp. 12. 3 cents.
No. 12.—The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 55. 5 cents.
No. 13.—No Slave-Hunting in the Old Bay State: An Appeal to the People and Legislature of Massachusetts. pp. 24. 5 cents.
No. 14.—A Fresh Catalogue of Southern Outrages upon Northern Citizens. pp. 72. 8 cents.
No. 15.—The Fugitive Slave Law and its Victims. pp. 168. 12 cents.
No. 16.—Tribute of William Ellery Channing to the American Abolitionists for their Vindication of Freedom of Speech. pp. 24. 5 cents.
No. 17.—Argument of Wendell Phillips, Esq., against the Repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, before the Committee of the Legislature, Tuesday, January 29, 1861. pp. 5 cents.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

TO MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.

A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE.

True and earnest-hearted sister, a debt we owe to thee,
For thy words so fitly spoken, uttered calmly, bravely, free;
For thy courage—faltering never—for thy hopeful, trusting faith,
That the Right at last shall triumph, even as our Father saith.

We feel our souls grow stronger as we hear thee nobly plead
For the outcast suffering bondmen in their hour of sorest need;
And while earnest, tearful pity thou dost waken in the heart,
Still thy words arouse to action, bidding us to do our part.
For in the conflict waging, ere our country makes her choice,
There is need of woman's labor, there is need of woman's voice:
And while Manhood, silenced, cowering, withers 'neath *Concession's* blight,
She, by *Compromise* unfettered, fearless should defend the Right.

She should say unto her brothers—Ye may cringe to Southern power—
Be the dupes and tools of party—yield e'en Honor's priceless dower;
And, to save this blood-stained Union, make anew a truce with sin,
Smothering e'en the voice of conscience, as it speaks the soul within:

And again on Mammon's altar lay the bound and trembling slave,
While his outstretched hands imploring, vainly call on you to save:
Ye may give to human bloodhounds hunting-ground on Concord plains,
And upon the grave of Warren bind anew the victim's chains!

But we will not aid you onward thus Humanity to wrong,
And, to crush the hapless victim, make th' oppressor's power more strong;
We will plead alone for Justice, guided only by Truth's light,
While our rallying-cry is ever, "God defend and speed the Right!"

Sister, many a true heart's blessing follows thee along thy way,
Knowing thou wilt never falter, or thy holy trust betray;
And when, thy mission ended, angel-spirits call thee home,
How this blessed thought will cheer thee, "I my Father's work have done"!

Barre, March, 1861. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

THOUGHTS,

SUGGESTED BY THE SACRIFICE OF JOHN BROWN.

'Tis done, the savage deed is done;
Oh, base Virginia! shame to thee!
Shame to thy foolish, braggart son!
Shame to thy boasted chivalry!

The brave old man whose daring hands
Were raised to set the bondman free,
To break Oppression's galling bands,
And strike a blow for liberty:—

A victim to Virginia's fear,
In Freedom's cause the hero dies!
A glory circles round his bier,
While in the dust thine honor lies.

Thou should'st have claimed him for thine own,
With Patrick Henry's wreathed his name:
It had a halo round thee thrown,
Rekindling Freedom's altar-flame.

E'en had his weapon failed to spare,
'Twas base the brave old man to slay,
The man who laid your folly bare,
And showed you where your weakness lay.

By cruel wrongs to frenzy driven,
John Brown, the fearless, good and brave,
Believed himself th' elect of Heaven
To break the yoke, and free the slave.

Go, now, of gallant Henry boast;
Brown was his brother—Freedom's child;
Undaunted, each defied a host,
And both by cowards were reviled.

Successful, one is known to fame,
A patriot—one a rebel dies;
Alike their object—cause the same—
Their struggle for an equal prize.

Henry, for self and country's weal,
Resolved on "Liberty or Death";
Brown, with a high and holy zeal,
For the poor slave resigned his breath.

Dishonored droops Virginia's star,
Her 'scutcheon bears the murderer's seal;
On Freedom's breast she leaves a scar,
That time can never, never heal.

F. M. ADLINGTON, Weymouth.

For the Liberator.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY!

Wanted to find, a man who prays,
Who ever means just what he says;
Who, when "Our Father" he repeats,
In every man a brother greets;

And, when he prays, "Thy kingdom come,
Upon the earth Thy will be done
As 'tis in heaven"—whose life shall be
With such a prayer in harmony;

Who, when for "daily bread" he's prayed,
To trust in God is not afraid,
And will not providence decry
If he has not a month's supply;

Who, when he prays, "My sins forgive
As I do those 'gainst me who strive,"
Breathes not e'en one revengeful breath,
Nor chokes the erring one to death;

Who, when he prays, "Lord, never lead
Where I in paths of sin shall tread,"
A brother's voice will ne'er despise,
When he of danger would apprise.

Wanted to see, in days like these,
A man who seeks not men to please;
Wanted, O God! the Church to see,
A light to guide mankind to Thee.

Wanted to see, a man who dares
To live in keeping with his prayers;
Fears not to say his soul's his own,
Nor trembles when the wicked frown.

One such, sustained by heavenly grace,
A thousand of his foes shall chase;
Two such, ten thousand put to flight,
Because well armored for the fight.

Men thus equipped, with Faith's strong shield,
Shall make their stoutest foes to yield;
And Error's night shall pass away,
Because they ACT as well as pray.

Then God shall sit upon his throne
On earth; by men his will be done;
The triumph of the wicked cease,
And all mankind shall live in peace.

Boston, March 19, 1861. JUSTITIA.

THE TRULY JUST MAN.

All are not just because they do no wrong;
But he who will not wrong me when he may,
He is the truly just. I praise not them
Who, in their petty dealings, pilfer not;
But him whose conscience spurns a secret fraud,
When he might plunder and defy surprise.
His be the praise, who, looking down with scorn
On the false judgment of the partial herd,
Consults his own clear heart, and boldly dares
TO BE, NOT TO BE THOUGHT, AN HONEST MAN.

—*Selected.*

The Liberator.

THE MARTYR CRISPUS ATTUCKS.

The ninety-first anniversary of the martyrdom of CRISPUS ATTUCKS (March 5th, 1770) was commemorated at the Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston, on Monday evening, 11th inst. (unavoidably postponed from the 5th.)

WILLIAM C. NELL, on rising to announce the exercises, remarked, in substance, that the programme for the evening was a wide departure from the elaborate and novel presentation, for many months contemplated, but which, by force of circumstances, he had this year been compelled to forego. The occasion was one which should always commend itself to the patriots and philanthropists of America, and in a signal manner to those whose complexions and condition allied them to him whose name and fame they had assembled that evening to honor. And especially at this hour in our country's history, when the all-absorbing question was, "What shall be done with the colored man?" there is a significance in pointing to what the colored man has done in the nation's trial-hours, eminently entitling him and his posterity to an equality of rights.

The page of impartial history will yet be illuminated with his deeds of patriotism and valor, commencing with Crispus Attucks in State street, March 5th, 1770, whose example of gallant leadership and martyrdom in the cause of impartial liberty has been emulated by other colored Americans, in every battle on land and sea, through the wars of 1776 and 1812; and though, shameful to relate, there is still to be found, here and there, an unscrupulous press to disparage and ignore the claims we truthfully and proudly associate with "the Man and the Hour," yet the satisfaction is ours to acknowledge that, by Hon. Henry Wilson, in his recent speech in the Senate of the United States, and also by several members of the Massachusetts Legislature, justice has been duly awarded, which we trust will, ere long, so enlighten public sentiment that, despite the influences contributing to disfranchise and alienate us, the patriotic deeds of our fathers shall be gratefully remembered, and our own rights respected.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nell's remarks, there followed appropriate Classical Readings and Declamations, including extracts from the recent speeches of Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. Henry Wilson, in the United States Senate, against the Crittenden Compromise, and in vindication of Colored American citizenship. Also a debate, in which the volunteer aid of members of the "Union Progressive Association" was a prominent feature. These exercises were interspersed with choice vocal and instrumental music by several ladies and gentlemen, whose efforts were highly appreciated by the audience.

The evening's entertainment was concluded by a social gathering in the Vestry, where refreshments had been provided by Mr. George T. Downing, which arrangement, to many, was a very agreeable item in this year's commemoration.

REPLY OF REV. GILBERT HAVEN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—I should have made an earlier defence of my letter against your editorial, had my health allowed me to prepare it. The subject may not yet be stale to all your readers, though my treatment of it will probably be deemed, by many of them, "flat and unprofitable." In seeking to shun a "painful and profitless" controversy with some of your leading associates, I hardly expected to plunge into one with you. I hope yet to avoid it. With as few words of defence as the subject will admit of, I shall close the controversy, so far as I am concerned. Our main points of difference are so vital, the chasm that separates us, as developed in this editorial, is so wide, that it will only be a waste of your columns to seek, through this medium, for a common ground whereon to build up a common faith. The lesser differences are all that will repay consideration.

You requote the questions which you asked, in your first article, on the supposition that I impeached your faithfulness to your conscience, and say, "Now let the reader turn to the verbose rejoinder of Mr. Haven, and find, if he can, any attempt to give explicit answers to these questions—for we cannot." I cannot imagine how you could have read that letter without finding "explicit answers to these questions," repeated many times. My honest compliments, profuse almost to "vain repetitions," were based *solely* on your "faithful adherence to principle." Had they been omitted, or reduced within moderate dimensions, the verbosity of "the rejoinder" would have been materially lessened, and the letter been shorter than its reply.

These questions are asked as a defence against my lament that you did not resemble Wilberforce "in prayer and piety." Do they prove that lament groundless? Is a bold and constant support "of the claims of humanity or the demands of justice" necessarily the cause or the effect of prayer and piety? Cannot one be eminent in the former graces, and deficient in the latter? Religion should be, I acknowledge, the root and offspring of all philanthropy. That it is not, many examples painfully prove. I agree with Mr. Parker that they are not, though they ought to be, constantly and vitally united. In his "Letter," page 106, he thus speaks:—"I was not content with producing Morality alone—the normal action of the Conscience and the Will, the voluntative keeping of the Natural Law of Right. I saw the need also of Piety—religious feeling towards the Divine, that purely internal love of God, which I think is not dependent on conscience." Again, in reference to the very class of which you are so eminent a representative, he thus speaks, page 112: "I found this lack of the emotional part of religion affected many of the Reformers. The leading Reformers are men of large intellect, of profound morality, earnest, affectional men, full of philanthropy, and living lives worthy of the best ages of humanity. But, as a general thing, it seemed to me they had not a proportionate development of the religious feelings, and so had neither the most powerful solace for their many griefs, nor the profoundest joy which is needful to hold them up mid all they see and suffer from. They too commonly shared this sensational philosophy, [Unitarianism,] and broke with the Ecclesiastical Supernaturalism, which once helped supply its defects."

Though his substitute for the Divine Supernaturalism of the Church and the Bible could but poorly supply this need of the soul, his declaration that it exists in man, and that it was unsatisfied in the hearts of his closest, philanthropic friends, is of the highest value.

The union of Piety and Philanthropy was very marked in the public career of Wilberforce. Their disjunction has been hardly less marked in the public life of his American representative. It is complained that I did not keep silence on this deficiency in an anti-slavery discourse, and my lamentation over it is charged to my "cloth." I am glad that the guilt lies no deeper.

But, is such silence a duty? That discourse was a "sermon," based on the words of inspiration, preached in a Christian church, on the Christian Sabbath, by one who declares himself, in this very act, to be speaking, as he believes, as an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Was it out of place to refer to the public treatment of the Christian religion by eminent leaders of the reform it advocated, especially when that treatment was not one of silence, but of open hostility? The censure was confined to their public career, and, was spoken with careful exception to any especial activity of your own, and with respectful and tender regrets at the course you had chosen to pursue.

But if it was so censurable to introduce into a sermon, a pulpit, and a Sabbath evening religious service, the slightest reflection on the public religious character of a great reformer, what must be said of the course of the *Liberator* and the American Anti-Slavery Society, for these many years? You say, "When, in noticing anything that may have fallen from his lip or pen, or from the lip or pen of any other person on the subject of slavery, have we gone out of our way to lament that he did not see eye to eye with us on other matters?" May I be allowed to ask, were those remarks, made in a review of Rev. Mr. White's sermon, concerning the Bible and the divine origin of the Christian ministry and the Christian Church, necessary to express your opinion as to his treatment of the question of slavery? A very few words sufficed for a full endorsement of his views on that subject. A half a column hardly sufficed to "lament" his heterodoxy on these "other matters" in which "he did not see eye to eye" with you.

Are the remarks on the Bible and "the great revival," in this very editorial, essential to a defence of your anti-slavery, or even religious, consistency? Even if you are free from blame in this matter, is the *Liberator* free? Is the article which precedes my letter, opposing, with great harshness, the general opinion of Christians as to the right way of observing the Sabbath, essential to the prosperity of abolitionism? Is not this advertisement, which for nearly six months has met the eyes of your subscribers, entitled "Self-Contradictions of the Bible," and in which the Book is spoken of as "the so-called word of God," "travelling out of the record, and raising a false and impertinent issue"? There is but one other paper in Boston that would publish that advertisement. That paper rejoices in the name of "infidel." I commend it for its honesty.

What would be said if the *Temperance Journal* had thus mingled discussions on religious subjects with its reformatory matters? Would the Christian friends of temperance have been condemned for withdrawing their support from the paper, and the Society that sustained it? I have an intimate acquaintance with several of the leading advocates of this reform, who differ from me, very materially, on questions of doctrine; yet I always receive them gladly into my pulpit, and join with them on the general platform, because we confine ourselves to the duty before us. Why is it not so with these advocates of the Anti-Slavery reform? Why is not the *Liberator* welcomed to every Christian anti-slavery family, and its contributors to every anti-slavery pulpit? Simply because they do not confine themselves to anti-slavery. There is no one whom I would so gladly invite to address my people as Mr. Garrison, were it not for his connection with this course of action. Did he now, as at the beginning of his career, apply the Word of God with great faithfulness and power to this iniquity, did he only refrain from contemning that Word, and the doctrines it teaches, and the Church it establishes, he would be joyfully welcomed to three-fourths of the churches of the Northern States. We ask for no defence of our particular views. We only ask that they be not assailed in an anti-slavery journal, and on an anti-slavery platform.

If it be said, the *Liberator* is not an exclusively anti-slavery journal, I ask, What else was it started for? What else does its title mean? What else do its pictorial heading and surrounding mottoes mean? What else has been its only work and fame, apart from this anti-Christian element of its latter years? Is not that chosen work great enough? Is it so near accomplishment that you can afford to drive away crowds of sympathizers by these extraneous assaults? You complain of being "few," and of being kept so by "the papal arrogance" of "the clergy generally." Nay, my dear sir, not so. The *Liberator* is its own worst enemy. Gladly would the ministry and membership of every name, whether "evangelical" or "liberal," join with the oldest paper and the oldest Society whose organ it is, in this glorious service, had they not been repelled by "the gross infidelities and social absurdities" with which the speeches of the salaried agents of that Society have abounded; had they not seen the substance of those speeches in many forms go unrebuked,—go, alas! commended, into the columns of its authorized journal.

I am glad to learn that I was mistaken in your statement of the simultaneous destruction of slavery and the Orthodox Church. Though the remark was riveted on my memory by its character, the time and manner of its utterance, and, especially, by its being made the subject of immediate and subsequent conversation among several who were with me, still I am willing to confess our ears were at fault, not your tongue. I rejoice that you concede that slavery can die without the death of the Church. I believe it has died elsewhere, and is dying here, through the life of the Church more than through all other instrumentalities.

You speak of my remark touching certain books and lectures on social and religious questions as shocking and libellous. Moore said he first blushed for some of his poetry when he had a daughter old enough to read it. I think the author of these works have had, or will have, a like experience. I cannot see how a "truly cultured nature" can do otherwise than loathe the free-love doctrine of divorce, and sundry other writings of these, so far, "filthy dreamers." I am glad I mentioned no names; for their comparative silence of late upon these and more sacred themes suggests the thought that they find the tone of Christian society and the faith of the Christian Church too lofty and vigorous for their assaults. They have heard the voice of Christ saying, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." May they yet penitently receive him as their Saviour, and preach the faith they once destroyed.

It is not needful nor desirable to defend my letter at all the points in which it was condemned. Especially it is not necessary for me to defend the Bible. All I sought to show was, that it was not accepted by the *Liberator* as the perfect revelation of God. Whether such views are called "infidel" or not, is a question of small importance. If a course of conduct, respecting slavery, met with the unqualified approval of the extremest pro-slavery section, you would say, and that justly, that such conduct was pro-slavery. What else then can we call that form of belief which meets with the unqualified approval of avowed and boastful infidels? To me, there is but one answer.

But, whatever be the proper name for such doctrines, their nature is hostile to the unchanging sentiment of the Christian Church. This Book has been relied upon by that Church, in all ages and in all its divisions, as of Divine origin and authority. Her divisions into sects prove nothing against this fact; for all these sects have certain grounds of unity which are found in the Bible only. Their very names are only schools of Biblical interpretation. They are no more to be considered a sign of the impotence of Scripture, than are the many schools and conflicts of the devotees of Natural Science a proof that Nature has originated or settled nothing. In that, as in this, it is the vastness of the Book of God that makes the human mind, with all its labors, fail infinitely of comprehending its length, and breadth, and depth, and height. With enough easily learned for the clear illumination of our present path of duty, there is enough remaining for the amplest exercise of the amplest souls. It will outlive time, and be, like Nature, the subject of the reverent and exhaustless study of holy intelligences to all eternity.

But I did not mean to be drawn into a defence of the Divine utterance. It is sufficient to say, that it is as true now as Chillingworth declared it to be two hundred years ago, that "the *Bible*, the BIBLE, is the religion of the Protestants," of all real Christian Churches, and he who derides or rejects it has but one name in all Christian tongues.

You say my remarks on Mr. Parker are marked with "intense bitterness," and quote a sentence of his "Letter" as applicable to me. You do me great injustice in that remark and quotation. My feelings towards this eminent man are farthest possible from the spirit of bitterness. I should not have mentioned his name, had not your questions demanded it. I should only have then referred to his mixed character as religionist and reformer, had you not, by implication, declared your piety of the same character as that of Wilberforce. I was thus constrained to notice his peculiar course, to show that the supporters of such a teacher could hardly be the representatives of that piety.

You intersperse admiration points in the sentence I quote from him, either to ridicule the sentiment or to suggest the quotation false. If the latter, I can only say, the exact words may be found in the sermon, entitled "A True and False Revival of Religion," page 9th. These are the *ipsissima verba*. "The whole [revival] is said to be a miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost, the direct interposition of God. You look a little more closely, and you find the whole thing has been carefully got up, with the utmost pains." If the admiration points were meant for sneers at my statement of this awful sentence, all I can say is, that those sneers are made at one of the dearest and deepest convictions of the whole Evangelical Church, from the day of Pentecost until now.

The charges concerning that revival are very erroneous. "Its converts were" *not* "most numerous in the blood-stained South." The great prayer meetings scarcely went below Philadelphia. Its anti-slavery effect may be seen, in my judgment, in the enormous vote for Lincoln, and in the calmness and firmness with which that great deed is maintained in the midst of the clamor of false professors, and the great multitude of the worldly and wicked. I have no doubt that more than half of those who voted for Lincoln were professors of Evangelical religion.

I trust that you will relieve me from the charge of unfairly and unfeelingly referring to Mr. Parker, and especially that you will not consider me as one who would willingly tear open the wounds which his death has made in the hearts of those who lived in his love. No one more deeply sorrows in their sorrow. "*Non ignarus mali, miseris succurrere disco.*" There are more courteous and tender words in that "Letter" than those you quote. There are also more deadly words. While therefore charity wraps his memory in her amplest folds, and grief most willingly weeps with those that weep, the cause of truth and righteousness no less demands that we should honestly point to the dreadful animus of that dying letter, and those many sentences, which, with great variety of expression but with unchanging enmity, declare that our Bible is "a Fetich," our religion, "a trusting for salvation to the blood of a crucified Jew," and our "God is a devil, and means damnation."

But I fear that I have long since wearied your patience with my unwelcome talk. And yet, I would fain say a word in defence of the anti-slavery action and condition of the Church of which I am an unworthy member, before I relieve you finally of my presence.

That Church has contended ceaselessly and mightily for the great reform. In 1844, after ten years of faithful labor by a portion of her ministry and laity, she stayed the proud march of the Slave Power, sacrificing her, at that time, most influential section, rather than allow one, whose wife held slaves, to preside in her Conferences. It was a great victory, and resulted in the secession of the slavery loving section, an act which Calhoun and Webster declared to be the forerunner of that disunion you so ardently desire. Has she ever had a word of commendation in the *Liberator* for that struggle and triumph? In 1848 she refused to recognize this seceding body as a Christian Church, and has so refused to this day, simply because of its submission to the Slave Power. In 1856, she put at the head of her Sunday School department one who labored with you in those early days, when Gospel ministers and members were the most active members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and who has never denied the faith he then preached. In his present important position, he faithfully teaches through his books and papers the whole truth of abolitionism. She put in the *Quarterly Review* one of the finest scholars and writers in the country, and he has not failed to pour through its pages his burning denunciations of this hideous sin. So has she manned her posts, and fought her battles for the slave, till last year, to avoid all charge of complicity with slavery, she declared that to be the true reading of her constitution, which her Bishops have since proclaimed to be its original and constant meaning, by which slaveholding as well as slave-trading is especially forbidden.

How is all this long and successful work treated by the pioneer Anti-Slavery Society and paper? With a word of approval? With a word of recognition, even? Far from it. It is only said of her, that she yet "receives slaveholders without rebuke or discipline"; and that "thousands of slaves are still held as chattels by members of that church."

Are these partially untrue and utterly unfair reflections her just reward? Would it be right to say that Massachusetts neither rebukes nor disciplines the rum-seller, because Boston, in spite of her law, gives him aid and comfort? The Church is a greater and more enduring institution than the State. Like the State, too, she may be pure in word and doctrine, in law and labor, and yet be helpless for a season against the disobedience of some of her subjects. In the Methodist Church, each local society has the sole power to try and expel its members; each conference of ministers the sole power to try and expel its members. Now, if the local society and its pastor refuse to enforce the discipline, and the conference of which that minister is a member will not punish him for it, how can the Church, as a whole, help it? She must repeatedly declare her law and her admonition; fill her offices with abolitionists, and wait for the renovation of the rebellious section, as Massachusetts, powerless but not speechless, much less submissive, waits the rise of a temperance movement in Boston that shall renovate her, and make her the right as well as real metropolis.

You may say, "Come out of a Church thus contaminated." Whither shall I go? Is there a Church whose record is as good as hers, whose prospect of the speedy expulsion of this malady from all her members is better? Shall I leave it for the world? In my judgment, the world is far more identified with this iniquity, as well as with every other, than any branch of the real Church of Christ. But I have no more right to leave this Church, without joining or founding another, than I have to leave the State for the utter barbarism of no civil society. Why have not those who preach thus left this land, so long and so deeply devoted to the support of slavery? Why do they obey its laws and claim its protection? My Church is greatly in advance of my country in her anti-slavery action. I ought to leave the latter, sooner than the former, if I must abandon either of them for this reason.

Besides, the section now tainted with this corruption has a record of which she may well be proud, and which will yet prove efficacious in her regeneration. In its earlier history, fifty to seventy years ago, untaught by Wilberforce, but not by the Word and the Spirit of God, it was the most active abolition body in the land. Its quarterly or local church conferences were engaged chiefly in dealing with those members who had become entangled in this sin, and in expelling those who would not manumit their slaves. The scores of thousands of free blacks in Maryland, to-day, testify to their zeal in this duty. I believe that day will return, and that speedily. Though submerged for a season by the black waves that have poured from the gulf over the whole land, I doubt not the deluge is stayed, and ere long the dry land will there appear also. Her old renown will be rewon. I shall labor for it. The Church, by an immense majority, is so laboring.

With such a record and such present activity, planting herself as a free and anti-slavery Church in all the border States, with her martyrs for this faith sanctifying the soil of Missouri and Arkansas and Texas with their sacred blood, she deserve a different treatment from Mr. Garrison and his leading associates than she has yet received. She would receive a different treatment, I am very confident, did not other feelings affect them, unconsciously, perhaps, but really, than those which are exclusively anti-slavery.

My words, I fear, are not agreeable. I can only say they are honest in their devotion to the cause of the slave—the cause of Christ. They are, also, written in the spirit of courtesy, of esteem, of love. May they be so received.

Very respectfully and regretfully yours, G. H.
Cambridge, March 18, 1861.

DR. CHEEVER AND THE AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

On the 16th of November last, (says the *Anti-Slavery Standard*,) Rev. Dr. Cheever met the members of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, the room being crowded to excess by a deeply interested audience. After receiving an address of sympathy and welcome, Dr. Cheever made some remarks, a report of which we find in *The Caledonian Mercury*, and copy below. We are glad to put on record this hearty and unqualified testimony to our cause, to the character of its supporters as men of integrity and Christian spirit, to the corruption of the American churches, and to the slanderous character of the charges and imputations against Abolitionists:—

"Dr. Cheever commended to the sympathy of his hearers the Church Anti-Slavery Society, which had recently been formed in America to prosecute by a fresh agency the great anti-slavery movement. *Organized as it had been on such a basis as to afford no ground of exception to any, it had yet met with so little sympathy from the Churches of America, that it was unable to sustain even one agent in the field,*—the point of stumbling among the professing Christians of America being the declaration in the Constitution of the Society that slavery was a crime, and slaveholding, in itself, a sin against God. This was a striking illustration that it was not because of any error of Abolitionists that sympathy was withheld from anti-slavery effort, but because of the 'cross' involved in adopting anti-slavery principles in America—because of the sacrifices, commercially and otherwise, which those must make who freely espouse the slave's cause. He had expected that there would be full sympathy ready for him in this country, but he found these influences had extended even here. He attributed them to the commercial and social relations that exist with America. He had found calumnies and slanders of the grossest description prevailing—more, in fact, than he could have supposed possible. *He would say, as a general rule, that it was safe to consider all slanders against Abolitionists as perfectly untrue.* It was certainly the case, as those present were aware, that mixtures like those with David at Adullam had been in the anti-slavery ranks, where persons had sometimes uttered sentiments offensive to Christian sense and feeling; but for such sentiments as these the Church, so called, was to blame, and the wonder was it had not made more infidels than were to be found in America from its unfaithfulness to its own mission. Dr. Cheever paid a very noble tribute to Mr. Garrison, with whom he had held many long and earnest conversations. He could testify to his being anything but an infidel; on the contrary, to his being a man who lived in the fear of God, and the love of Christ as his Savior—who led a pure and blameless life, and was an earnest and fearless friend of the slave. Dr. Cheever mentioned his having attended the last anniversary meeting of the New England Abolitionists, where he had heard no sentiments but such as any Christian could have listened to with interest; and he had felt that his doing so, and the sympathy it evinced, had been of great value, and would tend to cement the union of all who were earnest for the abolition of slavery."

CHARLESTON UNDER ARMS.

This is the title of a racy and graphic article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, from which we make the following extract:—

A favorite subject of argument appeared to be whether Fort Sumter ought to be attacked immediately or not. A lieutenant standing near me talked long and earnestly regarding this matter with a civilian friend, breaking out at last in a loud tone,—

"Why, good Heaven, Jim! do you want that place to go peaceably into the hands of Lincoln?"

"No, Fred, I do not. But I tell you, Fred, when that fort is attacked, it will be the bloodiest day,—the bloodiest day!—the bloodiest —— !!"

And here, unable to express himself in words, Jim flung his arms wildly about, ground his tobacco with excitement, spit on all sides, and walked away, shaking his head, I thought, in real grief of spirit.

We passed close to Fort Pinckney, our volunteers exchanging hurrahs with the garrison. It is a round, two-storied, yellow little fortification, standing at one end of a green marsh known as Shute's Folly Island. What it was put there for, no one knows: it is too close to the city to protect it; too much out of the harbor to command that. Perhaps it might keep reinforcements for Anderson from coming down the Ashley, just as the guns on the Battery were supposed to be intended to deter them from descending the Cooper.

On the wharf of the ferry, three drunken volunteers, the first that I had seen in that condition, brushed against me. The nearest one, a handsome young fellow of six feet two, half turned to stare back at me with a—

"How are ye, Cap'm? Gaw damn ye! Haw, haw, aw!"—and reeled onward, brimful of spirituous good-nature.

Four days more had I in Charleston, waiting from tide to tide for a chance to sail to New York, and listening from hour to hour for the guns of Fort Sumter. Sunday was a day of excitement, a report spreading that the Floridians had attacked Fort Pickens, and the Charlestonians feeling consequently bound in honor to fight their own dragon. Groups of earnest men talked all day and late into the evening under the portico and in the basement-rooms of the hotel, besides gathering at the corners and strolling about the Battery. "We must act." "We cannot delay." "We ought not to submit." Such were the phrases that fell upon the ear oftenest and loudest.

As I lounged, after tea, in the vestibule of the reading-room, an eccentric citizen of Arkansas varied the entertainment. A short, thin man, of the cracker type, swarthy, long-bearded, and untidy, he was dressed in well-worn civilian costume, with the exception of an old blue coat showing dim remnants of military garniture. Reeling up to a gentleman who sat near me, he glared stupidly at him from beneath a broad-brimmed hat, demanding a seat mutely, but with such eloquence of oscillation that no words were necessary. The respectable person thus addressed, not anxious to receive the stranger into his lap, rose and walked away, with that air of not having seen anything, so common to disconcerted people who wish to conceal their disturbance. Into the vacant place dropped the stranger, stretching out his feet, throwing his head back against the wall, and half closing his eyes with the drunkard's own leer of self-sufficiency. During a few moments of agonizing suspense, the world waited. Then, from those whiskey-scorched and tobacco-stained lips came a long, shrill "Yee-p!"

It was his exordium; it demanded the attention of the company; and though he had it not, he continued:—

"I'm an Arkansas man, *I* am. I'm a big sugar planter, *I* am. All right! Go a'ead! I own fifty niggers, *I* do. Yee-p!"

He lifted both feet and slammed them on the floor energetically, pausing for a reply. He had addressed all men; no one responded, and he went on:—

"I'm for straightout, immedit shession, *I* am. I go for 'staining coursh of Sou' Car'lina, *I* do. I'm ready to fight for Sou' Car'lina. I'm a Na-po-le-on Bonaparte. All right! Go a'ead! Yee-p! Fellahs don't know me here. I'm an Arkansas man, *I* am. Sou' Car'lina won't kill an Arkansas man. I'm an immedit shessionist. Hurrah for Sou' Car'lina! All right! Yee-p!"

There was a lingering, caressing accent on his "*I* am," which told how dear to him was his individuality, drunk or sober. He looked at no one; his hat was drawn over his eyes, his hands were deep in his pockets; his feet did all needful gesturing. I stepped in front of him to get a fuller view of his face, and the action aroused his attention. He surveyed my gray Inverness wrapper, and gave me a chuckling nod of approbation.

"How are ye, Bub? I like that blanket, *I* do."

In spite of this noble stranger's good-will and prowess, we still found Fort Sumter a knotty question. In a country which for eighty years has not seen a shot fired in earnest, it is not wonderful that a good deal of ignorance should exist concerning military matters, and that second-class plans should be hatched for taking a first-class fortification. While I was in Charleston, the most popular proposition was to bombard continuously for two whole days and nights, thereby demoralizing the garrison by depriving it of sleep, and causing it to surrender at the first attempt to escalade. Another plan, not in general favor, was to smoke Anderson out by means of a raft covered with burning mixtures of a chemical and bad-smelling nature. Still another, with perhaps yet fewer adherents, was to advance on all sides in such a vast number of row-boats that the fort could not sink them all, whereupon the survivors should land on the wharf and proceed to take such further measures as might be deemed expedient. The volunteers from the country always arrived full of faith and defiance. "We want to get a squint at that Fort Sumter," they would say to their city friends. "We are going to take it. If we don't plant the palmetto on it, it's because there's no such tree as the palmetto." Down the harbor they would go in the ferry-boats to Morris or Sullivan's Island. The spy-glass would be brought out, and one after another would peer through it at the object of their enmity. Some could not sight it at all, confounded the instrument, and fell back on their natural vision. Others, more lucky, or better versed in telescopic observations, got a view of the fortress, and perhaps burst out swearing at the evident massiveness of the walls and the size of the columbiads.

"Good Lord, what a gun!" exclaimed one man. "D'ye see that gun? What an almighty thing! I'll be ——, if I ever put my head in front of it!"

The difficulties of assault were admitted to be very great, considering the bad footing, the height of the ramparts, and the abundant store of muskets and grenades in the garrison. As to breaches, nobody seemed to know whether they could be made or not. The besieging batteries were neither heavy nor near, nor could they be advanced as is usual in regular sieges, nor had they any advantage over the defence, except in the number of gunners, while in regard to position and calibre they were inferior. To knock down a wall nearly forty feet high and fourteen feet thick, at a distance of more than half a mile, seemed a tough undertaking, even when unresisted. It was discovered, also, that the side of the fortification towards Fort Johnstone, its only weak point, had been strengthened so as to make it bomb-proof, by means of interior masonry constructed from the stones of the landing-place. Then nobody wanted to knock Fort Sumter down, inasmuch as that involved either the labor of building it up again, or the necessity of going without it as a harbor-defence. Finally, suppose it should be attacked, and not taken? Really, we unlearned people in the art of war were vastly puzzled, as we thought this whole matter over, and we sometimes doubted whether our superiors were not almost equally bothered with ourselves.

This fighting was a sober, sad subject; and yet at times it took a turn towards the ludicrous. A gentleman told me that he was present when the steamer Marion was seized with the intention of using her in pursuing the Star of the West. A vehement dispute arose as to the fitness of the vessel for military service.

"Fill her with men, and put two or three eighteen-pounders in her," said the advocates of the measure.

"Where will you put your eighteen-pounders?" demanded the opposition.

"On the promenade-deck, to be sure."

"Yes, and the moment you fire one, you'll see it go through the bottom of the ship, and then you'll have to go after it."

During the two days previous to my second and successful attempt to quit Charleston, the city was in full expectation that the fort would shortly be attacked. News had arrived that Federal troops were on their way with reinforcements. An armed steamer had been seen off the harbor, both by night and day, making signals to Anderson. The Governor went down to Sullivan's Island to inspect the troops and Fort Moultrie. The volunteers, aided by negroes and even negro women, worked all night on the batteries. Notwithstanding we were close upon race-week, when the city is usually crowded, the streets had a deserted air, and nearly every acquaintance I met told me he had been down to the islands to see the preparations. Yet the whole excitement, like others which had preceded, ended even short of smoke. News came that reinforcements had not been sent to Anderson; and the destruction of that most inconvenient person was once more postponed. People fell back on the old hope that the Government would be brought to listen to reason,—that it would give up to South Carolina what it could not keep from her with justice,—that it would grant, in short, the incontrovertible right of peaceable secession. For, in the midst of all these labors and terrors, this expense and annoyance, no one talked of returning into the Union, and all agreed in deprecating compromise.

MR. DANA AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The remarks of Richard H. Dana, Jr., about the Abolitionists and the *Liberator*, in his recent speech, are excessively shallow. His question, "Who sees the *Liberator*?" will be laughed at as generally as Sidney Smith's question—"Who reads an American book?" His patronizing air towards Mr. Phillips is perhaps a fair offset and retaliation for Mr. Phillips's attack upon him, but it is very ludicrous for all that. Mr. Phillips's audiences care but little for his constitutional theories; his influence is not strengthened or weakened, materially, by these theories; and his influence upon Massachusetts opinion, for the last ten years, has been a hundred times as great as Mr. Dana's. It is very funny to hear Mr. Dana making the depot and horse-car circulation of a newspaper the test of its influence. "Who sees the *Liberator*? Is it sold at our railroad stations, or in our steam cars, or horse cars, or at our steamboat landings, or hawked in the streets?" No: is the *Christian Witness*, or the *Churchman*, or the works of Edmund Burke? No, again. Yet Mr. Dana would be loth to acknowledge that Burke is obsolete, or that the Episcopal Church is without influence. Tried by the railroad station test, the New York *Herald* is the most influential paper in the country, when, in fact, of all papers pretending to have influence, it has the least. There is not a country newspaper in the great West, printed for a colony of Norwegians or Dutchmen, and excluded from all except local circulation, which does not, in ten years, have more influence on public opinion than Bennett's *Herald*, which is sold at all the "railroad stations" and "hawked in the streets."—*Boston Correspondent of the Springfield Republican.*

☞ For the remarks of Mr. Dana, eliciting this criticism, see the last column of the first page of the present number of the *Liberator*.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN IN BOSTON.

The present City Government of Boston, having been elected by a combination of all the forces of slavery and rum, have, perhaps, appropriately invited ex-Senator Crittenden to visit Boston as the guest of the city. Mr. Crittenden has graciously accepted the invitation, and is expected there at an early day.

A mean Yankee, it is said, can be the meanest man in the world, so perhaps a mean government of a Yankee city can be the meanest city government in the world. At any rate, the government of Boston can furnish protection to lawless violence and mobocracy when employed against the opponents of slavery, and pass spiteful and insulting resolutions in regard to Senator Sumner for properly and truthfully characterizing the petition which was forwarded to Congress from Boston, favoring the Crittenden Compromise scheme. That such invitation is a disgrace to Boston and an insult to Massachusetts, will be apparent, if we consider the position of that State, and the position of Mr. Crittenden and his recent scheme of compromise.

Mr. Crittenden made no pretence to regard the Union of the States, only so far as slavery can be protected and perpetuated; his attachment to slavery being far stronger than his regard for the Union.

Among the many provisions for the everlasting perpetuity of slavery, embraced in his plan, is the following:—"The elective franchise, and the right to hold office, whether Federal, State, Territorial, or Municipal, shall not be exercised by persons who are in whole or in part of the African race." Now, Massachusetts recognizes no distinction of race or color in her constitution or laws, in regard to the elective franchise, and the adoption of Mr. Crittenden's proposition would require a fundamental change in her whole theory and practice of government. By the adoption of her State Constitution, in 1788, slavery was totally and forever abolished, and the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence have been regarded as sound doctrine by Massachusetts ever since.

Massachusetts will not change her course in that respect, even to conciliate Mr. Crittenden, or to please the present Government of the city of Boston.—*Brooklyn Star.*